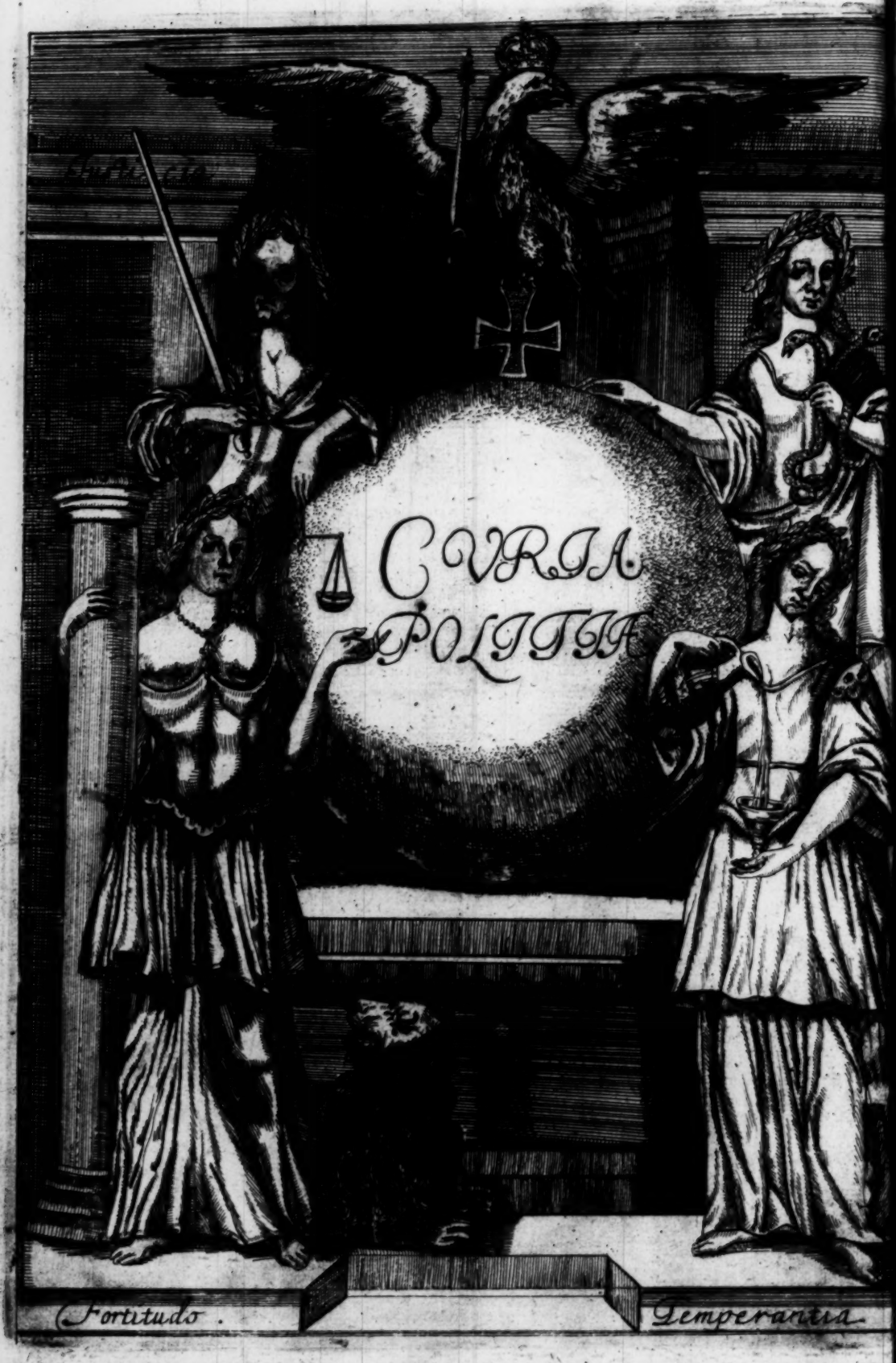
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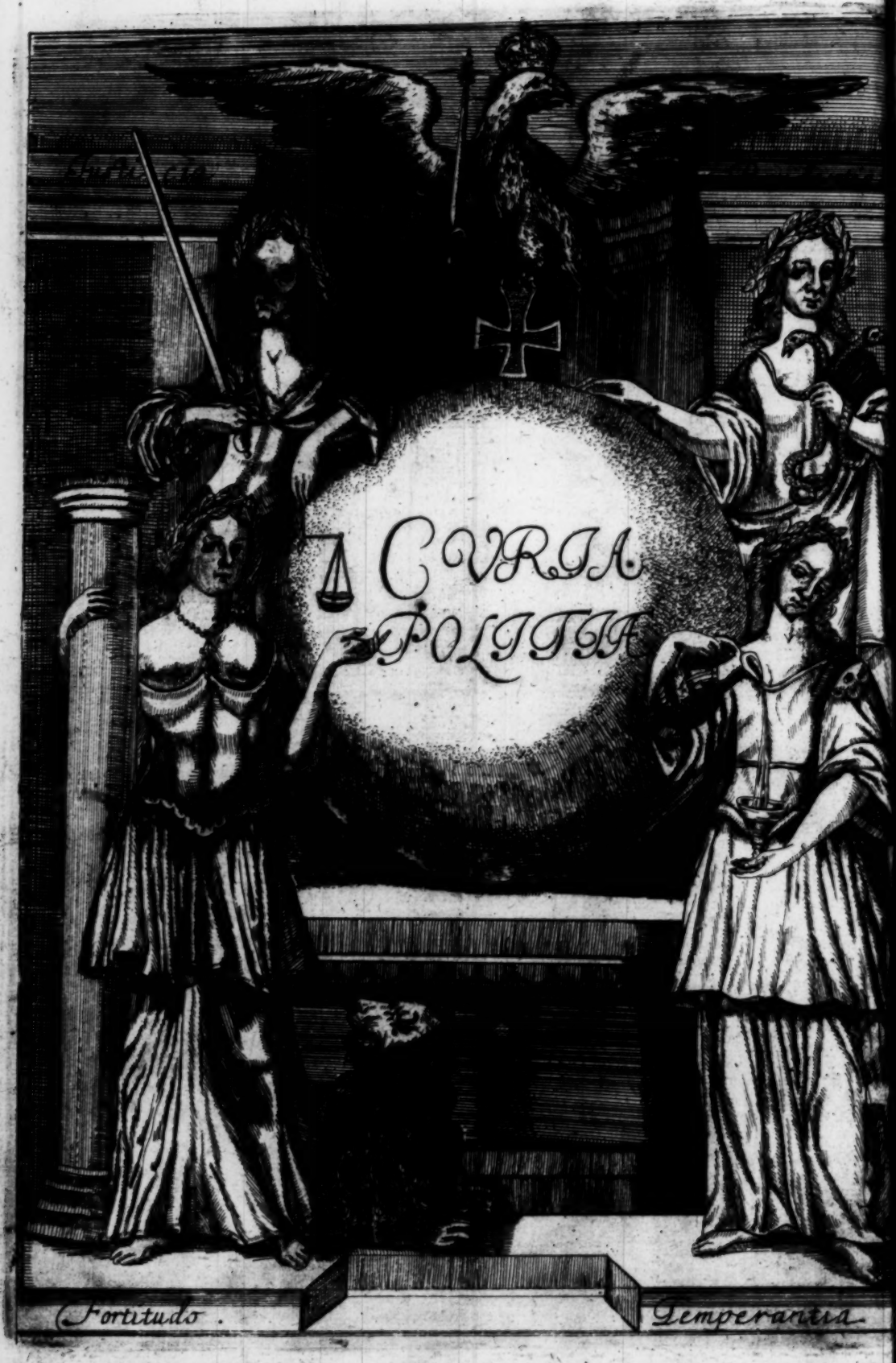
CVRIA
POLITIA
Fortitudo .
Temperantia

CVRIA POLITIÆ:

OR THE

APOLOGIES

OF SEVERAL

PRINCES:

JUSTIFYING TO THE

WORLD

Gul: THEIR *Grant:*

Most Eminent Actions:

BY

The Strength of REASON, and the most Exact Rules of POLICY.

Written in *FRENCH* by the Acurate Pen of *MONSIEUR de SCUDERY*, Governor of *NOSTRE-DAME.*

And now faithfully Render'd into ENGLISH.

With the FIGURES of many EMPERORS and KINGS.

LONDON,
Printed for *Robert Boulter* at the *Turk's Head* in *Cornhil* againſt the *ROYAL EXCHAINGE*, 1673.

CURIA POLITIÆ:

OR THE

ARCHITECTURE

OF SERVIUS

TULLIUS

RESTORED.

TO TRUE HONOR AND RENOWN.

Great Princes Whiles they are alive, have the Creator of Heaven for their Protector on Earth: And when they are Dead, the World is the Preſerver of their Memory. They ſurvive to future Ages by their Actions, which if Noble and Illuſtrious, their Fame doth grow Immortal; But if unworthy of ſuch tranſcendent Dignities, their Infamy like a Black Cloud, overſpreds the Univerſe. See here twenty Renowned Hero's are preſented with their

their Reaſons and Politicks for the moſt Glorious Actions of their Reigns. And what ſingle Perſonage (though never ſo highly Born, exactly qualified, or ſublimely advanced) can expect or preſume to be the Patron of ſo many Terreſtrial Gods: The World was the Theater where they acted, and the four Cardinal Vertues the chief Supporters of their Glory. Theſe Royal Orators (ſpeaking from their Graves) have already been admired amongſt the French, now they expect Princely Entertainment from the *Engliſh*. This favour (in Juſtice) is due from all the Sons and Servants of true Houor and Renown.

The

THE AUTHOUR TO THE Reader.

IT is not one of the leaſt remarkable aſſurances of the ſage Conduct of thoſe, who Govern this Monarchy, to ſee how their high Prudence and incomparable Wiſdom remove the Enemies of *France* ſo far from our Kingdom, that the Governours of the Frontiers have leiſure to ſtudy and compoſe Books. It is in the fruition of this profound repoſe, wherein I enjoy, even in the midſt of the Tumults of War, an opportunity to render in ſome degree, my retiredneſs more profitable, by compoſing this Work, which I now expoſe to Publique Cenſure and Approbation. I believe (Reader) though Fortune was not pleaſed to ordain me for the management of more ſublime affairs; yet ſhe gave me leave to ſee, that if ſhe had pleaſed to call me, I might happily, have ac-

quitted my ſelf without diſhonour or diſgrace; and that he who cauſed *Lewis* the fourth to ſpeak ſo nobly, and ſo many other Kings, might have bin capable to ſerve *Lewis* the Fourteenth, at leaſt, under their orders and directions, who councel ſo ſucceſsfully, if in ſtead of a Command in Remote extremities of the State, and moſt imbroiled borders and limits, Fortune had vauchſafed to call me to Court, and there appointed my imployments. In effect, though naturally I had no Genius or diſpoſition to Noble enterpriſes, and had contracted from my birth an abſolute ſtupidity; yet ſo many Great Princes whom I have had the honour to attend, ſo many ſplendent Courts which I have ſeen, ſo many people, and ſo different in their Manners, Cuſtoms, and Laws, which I have viſited, ſo many Armies, Wars, and various affairs, wherein I have been engaged, both voluntarily and under command; ſo many Grand Perſonages, with whom I have had ſociety and friendſhip, ſo many remarkable events that I have obſerved, together with thoſe precious reliques of Prudence exhauſted out of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. All this (*I* ſay) is ſufficient to inform my judgment, and for Art and education to compleat in me, what Nature could not. And *I* think (*Reader*) it were not poſſible for me to revive Kings to a quick and lively diſcourſe, without ſome competent abilities in me: and *I* dare preſume to believe, though my deſign appear full of confidence, yet it may be excuſed from being cenſured Raſh.

I have then made choice of twenty Princes (out

of universal History) and have selected the most eminent actions of their reigns for the subject of this discourse; endeavouring herein to dive and pierce into those reasons and causes which overruled them to their resolutions. *I*n this *I* seem to be (in a kind) admitted to the Cabinet Councel of these Princes (who are in their graves,) and by most probable conjectures, have hinted at those profound reasons which so directed them. Thus guided by the light of History, *I* have essayed to discover those secret and concealed Mysteries of State, and so to remonstrate the events of Councels and grand Enterprises, undertaken with so high deliberations. To this end, that if Princes and Monarchs admit not of instruction rising from their inferiors; yet that they may not refuse it flowing from their equals. This being composed by some Politick reflexions, which are as the muscles and nerves of the body, and resembling all the several parts, make up and discover (*Reader*) the aim and end of this Work.

Now whether the Builder have the skil to make this high design practical, and so to cause this stately Piece admired and loved according to the beauty of the Model; it is for you (*Reader*) to Judge, for *it becomes no one to be Judge and Supreme in his own affairs.*

I have confin'd my self to these 7 or 8 last ages of Time in the election of these Princes, and those others, which may follow in the second part of this Work. The rather, because already so many learned Historians having travelled to *Macedonia*, have written so accurately and fully, that nothing

nothing is left that may farther relate the Grandure and magnificence of *Alexander* the Great. So many exquiſite Authors, (converſant in the affairs of the *Perſians* and *Medes* have follow'd *Cyrus* to the Conqueſt of *Aſia*, that nothing of rarity can be ſuperadded: and ſo many learned Pens have written of *Cæſar*, & commented on his *Commentaries*, that nothing can be found out to more illuſtrate thoſe relations. It may be ſaid of thoſe renowned ages of Antiquity in the words of *Solomon*, *That nothing is new under the Sun*: and that they have been ſo often examined, that thoſe rare and precious ſubjects are rendred now more familiar, and ſo leſs admired. As I then walk in a path leſs obvious to common foot-ſteps, ſo am I reſtrained to more confined and choicer limits; wherefore *I* have not troubled their famous umbra's, whom an innocent kind of Magick hath ſo often ſummoned from their Royal Tombs: but leaving thoſe Princely Hero's to the repoſe of their ſepultures, *I* have preſumed to ſummon others from their retirements of obſcurity, to preſent their Nobleſt Actions to the light.

I am aſſured (Reader) their apparition will not affright you with their Preſence, nor their voice daunt your ſoul: *I* conjure you then to hear, and to give a favourable audience to theſe illuſtrious dead Princes. This is a reſpect due to their high qualities, and which they exactly look for from thoſe who are moſt rude and uncivil to Thrones, Scepters, and Crowns.

A

CATALOGUE

Of the ſeveral *Princes* diſcourſed of in this VOLUME.

I.

THE *Emperor* Charles *the Fifth, to his Royal Siſters,* Pag. 1.

II.

Lewis *the Fourth, King of* France, *to his revolted Subjects,* 11.

III.

Matthias Corvin *King of* Hungary, *to the Ambaſſadors of the Republick of* Venice, 20.

IV.

Mahomet *the Second the Grand Seignior, to his Janiſſaries,* 33.

V.

Ferdinando, *King of* Caſtile, *to the Duke* Nagera, 41.

VI.

Don Henry, *King of* Caſtile, *to Count* D' Alba Tormes, 50.

VII.

Don Sanche, *King of* Caſtile, *to Count* Garcia de Gabria, 60.

VIII.

Emanuel, *King of* Portugal, *to* John de Meneſais, 67.

IX.

Charles *the Ninth, King of* France, *to* John de Monluc, 76.

X.

Don Ramir, *King* D' Oviedo, *to the Grand Councel of his Kingdom,* 84.

XI.

James *the First, King of* England, *to the Duke of* Lenox *Pag.* 91.

XII.

Henry *the seventh King of* England, *to* Thomas *Lord* Stanley, 102.

XIII.

Soliman *the Second, the Grand Seignior to* Rustan Bassa, 113.

XIV.

Scanderbeg, *King of* Albania, *to his Captains and Councel of Officers,* 122.

XV.

Henry *the Third King of* France, *to* Pibrac *and* Philip de Portes, 132.

XVI.

Henry *the Eight, King of* England, *to* Thomas *Lord* Cromwell *Lord Chamberlain of* England, 145.

XVII.

Pepin le'Bref, *King of* France, *to the Archbishop of* Maience, 154.

XVIII.

Tamberlane, *Emperor of* Tartary, *to* Axalla *his Lieutenant General,* 163.

XIX.

Hugh Capet, *King of* France, *to* Frederick *Count* De Metz, 171.

XX.

Gustavus Adolphus, *King of* Swedeland, *to* Oxerstern *his Lord Chancellor.* 179.

A

TABLE

Of the ſeveral Subjects and Debates in this VOLUME.

I.

Whether the Emperor did judiciouſly in a Voluntary ſurrender of the Empire?

II.

Whether a Prince ought to ſpeak high and boldly to an Army and Subjects newly reconciled?

III.

Whether it be lawful to be perfidious by a falſe and fraudulent Example?

IV.

Whether it be lawful to prye into, and cenſure the actions of Soveraign Princes?

V.

Whether all ways of Agrandiſing a mans ſelf be lawful and commendable?

VI.

Whether it be expedient to force an Enemy to diſpair?

VII.

Whether health ought to be preferred above a Crown?

VIII.

Whether the Publick ought to be preferred above the private intereſt?

IX.

Whether thoſe who are in the Princes ſuſpicion, ought to be removed and diſtanced?

X.

Whether it be conſiſtent with Soveraignty to be divided and communicable.

Whe-

XI.

Whether Princes ought to remember and revenge injuries and affronts offered them before they aſcended the Royal Throne?

XII.

Whether it were better to embrace a Crown in the right of Conqueſt, or as lawful heir, or in the right of Marriage of the Princeſs and Heretrix to the Crown?

XIII.

Whether faith ought to be kept inviolably by Princes?

XIV.

Whether a Prince may break his faith with another Prince who hath firſt violated his?

XV.

Whether an elected King ought to acquit and leave thoſe Subjects, who have made choice of him, and embrace another Crown more conſiderable?

XVI.

Whether all Princelike actions ought not to be ſacrificed, and to aim at true Glory and Renown?

XVII.

Whether it be permitted to create himſelf a King?

XVIII.

Whether it be not true Policy to humble the high and inſolent, and to remit and pardon the ſubmiſs and proſtrated Subjects?

XIX.

Whether it be good for a Prince to have a chief Miniſter of State ſuperintendent to all others?

XX.

Whether Conquerors ought to expoſe themſelves to the common and ordinary perils of War?

Curia Politiæ.

IF the hearts of all men in general (as the Scriptures teſtifie) are ſo unſearchable that none but God can find them out, or penetrate and diſcover the ſecrets thereof; Certainly the hearts of *Princes* are ſo profound Abyſſes, as all the ſubtlety of the People cannot ſound or fatham: *The hearts of Kings are in the hands of God.* It is Gods own aſſurance, and he alone is able to diſcern and know them. *As Kings reign by him alone*, ſo he alone knows by what Maxims he will have them rule. The diſtance is ſo far betwixt us and the *Prima Mobilia*, that their motions are indiſcernable to us; they train and lead us on after them, but we neither know how, nor why we follow them: And as they are infinitely above us, ſo if our curioſity ſhould ſoare aloft to diſcover the ways and ends of their Revolutions, the moſt elevated ſpirits would find themſelves infinitely low and ſhort in their capacities.

If God (as he names himſelf) be *an inviſible God*, Princes who are the living Images of God, are in that Attribute like unto him. The *Iſraelites* ſometimes ſaid, *We have ſeen the living God, we ſhall dye and not live.* It is little leſs dangerous to peep and pry into the ſecrets of *Princes.* If *God be a conſuming fire*, and is concealed in the fiery flaming buſh, the Majeſty of Soveraigns hath a near reſemblance to this inacceſſible light, which never ſuffers it ſelf entirely viſible, no more than God himſelf. And if the ſplendor of the Celeſtial Majeſty commanded the *Cherubims to cover their*

faces with their wings: The glory of terreſtrial Soveraignty is ſo Illuſtrious and bright, that it not only tranſcendeth, but diminiſheth all inferiour lights and luminations. The ſtrongeſt ſighted Eagles are too weak to dare to look ſtedfaſtly on theſe glorious Suns. Theſe mortal Deities may then ſay (but in all humble reverence to the great King of Heaven,) *I am what I am*, without a farther diſcovery of themſelves, and their Royal pleaſure. And the derrogation is leſs, or none at all; ſeeing the holy Scriptures have admitted Kings to be ſtiled *Gods on Earth*. The Fable of *Prometheus* teacheth little leſs, but that it is highly dangerous to deſire to know the depth of Princes thoughts, and ſo to have a will to reſemble thoſe moſt ſublime Perſons. *Give me what you pleaſe*, (ſaid a ſage Courtier to his Lord and Maſter) *ſeeing you give me not leave to have a ſhare in your ſecrets.* Notwithſtanding the great danger of taſting the forbidden fruit, there is a natural Curioſity in all men to know Good and Evil; which hath derived it ſelf from the firſt man to all poſterity. As for the concealments of ſecrets, they enflame the mind to a greater ardor of knowing them: And it is received as a common Maxim, *In great enterpriſes, it is noble enough to dare to wiſh them. And the more Princes endeavour to conceal their thoughts, the more the people labour to devine them.*

Phyſick is not the ſole Art, which may be termed, *The Art or Miſtery of Conjectures*: Vulger Policy hath no other Foundations, and worketh by no other Principles. *Tiberius* thought fit to conceal himſelf amongſt the Rocks of the Iſle of *Capreæ*, and to envelop his true reſentment of affairs, under the veil of ambiguous terms: and out of theſe equivocal notions, *Rome* toiled to explicate his moſt enigmatical obſcurities, and myſterious Oracles. When the Thunderbolt fell on *Sejanus* head, the moſt ignorant of all the people took the vanity to brag and boaſt, that they foreſaw the tempeſt long before that accident arived. And that *Tiberius* had not ſo much as a thought in his ſolitude, which they had not formerly devined in the Capitol, or foreſeen at the foot of Mount *Aventine*: ſo true it is, that every *one hath a ſtrong opinion of his worth and great abilities, and boldly preſumes to cenſure raſhly the intentions of Princes.* In concluſion, it may be ſaid to this purpoſe, that a Kingdom hath as many Miniſters

Miniſters of State, as men; and that all are aſſiſtants to the higheſt Councels, and impart their opinions to the deliberations of Peace and War; and that the great Engine of Government hath no reſults ſo ſecret, but what are abſolutely diſcovered; This is the infirmity and diſeaſe of all Countrys and Ages; but if it was ever Epidemical and ſpreading over the Earth, if ever Curioſity did exerciſe the Parts and Policy of the moſt refined Wits, or the leſs ingenuous, and provoked the whole world to admire and talk. It was doubtleſs then, when the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth voluntarily ſurrendred his Empire to his brother, and his Kingdom into the hands of his Son.

All men were amazed to ſee a ſoul ſo ambitious of true Renown, freely to renounce Glory and Grandeur, to paſs from a Throne to an Hermitage, and from the high quality of a puiſſant Soveraign, to the low Fortune of a Private Perſon. And as they ſtood at gaze, ſo each one deſired to ſearch into the intentions of this Prince, and to gueſs at thoſe reaſons which tranſported him to an Action ſo extraordinary. Now as ſometimes the grave Sages pleaſe to intermix themſelves with the common people, and in their condeſcentions permit themſelves to be trod on in a croud; let us preſume to make our conjectures of him, who lives not in our Age, and whoſe action is above the reach of our knowledge. And let us obſerve this Illuſtrious Prince (now in his ſolitude) ſpeaking to the Queens his Royal Siſters, who were his companions in his voyage, when he paſſed out of *Flanders* into *Spain*, after this grand Action.

The

THE

DISCOURSE

OF THE

Emperor CHARLES the Fifth,

TO THE

Queens His Dear Sisters.

I Doubt not but that at this inſtant the whole world is ready to Deſcant on that ſtupendious action I have undertaken; and that the greateſt contemplators imploy (at preſent) their deepeſt *Policy*, *Morality*, and *Reaſon* to Devine and ſearch out the cauſes of my reſolutions. This action is of ſuch an admirable and extraordinary nature, as may render aſtoniſhment to the Curioſity of the moſt profound, and moſt capeable underſtandings; In the undertaking whereof, and although I live in an Age wherein I have theſe more illuſtrious and great Perſonages to bear witneſs with me; *Philip King of England*; *Maximilian King of Bohemia*, *Elianor Queen of France and Portugal*, *Mary Queen of Hungary*, *Emanuel Philibert Duke of Savoy*, *Chriſtiana Daughter to the King of Denmark*, *and Dutches of Lorrain*: All the *Knights* of the Order of *the golden Fleece*, all the *Grandees* of *Spain*; all Perſons of Eminent condition in *Flanders*, and an infinite number of other people; yet I may ſay, and my reaſon tells me, that I may well doubt, whether poſterity can be perſwaded to beleeve, what I have undertaken to effect. All Ages furniſh us with too many examples of *Vſurpers* of *Empires and Crowns*; and of Princes who have left their *Scepters*: but in the univerſal hiſtory of times, it is moſt rare to hear of any, who voluntarily quitted Sovereinty without conſtraint: I ſhall onely except *the Emperour Diocleſian*; and (perhaps) I ſhall have none to imitate me. The world ſees that I have transferred to my Son, all the *Kingdoms*, *Provinces*, *and Iſles*, of which I was *Sovereign*, both in the *new*, and *old World*, that I have diſpatched the Prince of *Aurange* to my Brother *Ferdinando King of the Romans*, to preſent him with the Scepter and Crown Imperial; I have (already) been obſerved to with-draw from a Royal Palace, and to have retired to a private houſe at *Bruxells*, and thence to have deſcended to an humble *Hermitage*: But (it is poſſible) that thouſands can never judge rightly, nor ſearch directly into the motives

tives of ſo great a change; If I had loſt many famous Battails, If the *Turks* and *Barbares* had invaded the *Provinces of the Empire*; or had they all diſloyally revolted, then might men have ſaid or cenſured, that I had diſcreetly quitted, what I had not been able longer to protect and guard; and that I had done well to abandon voluntarily, that which might have been violently forced from me. But the whole earth knows, That ſince my age of *Sixteen years*, (when firſt I bore a Scepter) to the age of *Fifty ſix years*, (when at laſt I ſurrendred them all) my Life and all my Adventures, were nothing elſe, but a *Concatenation of Victories & Triumphs, and a glorious continuation of moſt rennowned ſucceſſes*; I have enjoyed *forty years* the Royalties and Kingdoms of my Father; which I have now conferred on my Son, and *thirty ſix years* the Majeſty of the Empire, which I have ſurrendred to my Brother, with ſuch ſucceſs and glory, that I dare ſay (without vanity) amongſt the greateſt *Cæſars*, of all my predeceſſors, *Charles the great only* beares compariſon with *Charles the fifth*. In effect, what Prince can be preferred before *Charles*, ſince *Charles* was preferred before *Francis*? This high Soul (whom glory inflam'd to become my mortal Enemy, and whom the renown of my Victories ſo oft amaz'd, aſpir'd to the *Empire* as well as I, and left nothing unattempted that might make his way leſs difficult; he moved by all ſecret engins to gain intelligence, and make his party in *Germany*: he allarm'd the towns along the River of *Rhine*, with the great number of his Forces and Armies, the more to terrifie and diſpirit the *Princes Electors*; notwithſtanding the Genius of *Auguſtus* was more prevalent than that of *Anthony*, although that of *Anthony* was more ſubtil than thoſe of other men, yet (mauger all the deſpite of this illuſtrious Rival,) I obtained the Empire to which he pretended, and gained the *Throne* with more honour, (as all *Europe* knowes) than my Competitor: This was not the ſole advantage which fortune crowned me with, in degrees above my mortall enemies; But on the contrary, ſhe ſeemed willing that I ſhould be born in ſuch an Age, that ſhould chiefly ſerve for my renown; And, the *Triumphs of Charles* had not received their compleat ornament, if this illuſtrious conqueſt had not attended his Royal Chariot. I know not (my deat Siſter) if it may not prove an errour in my judgment, or a blemiſh to my wiſdome to remember you (at this re-encounter) of the impriſonment of your husband; firſt, becauſe that he is not now alive, and then becauſe he was my priſoner: yet the relation is a ſweet temptation to a ſoul ſo ambitious of true glory, as that of mine; and to ſilence it, is not an ordinary difficulty. And now (to diſcourſe the paſſages as they fall) to take Priſoner a King with his ſword in his hand, in the midſt of the field, the battail being all inveloped in blood and fire, the forces routed, and invironed, the Colours torn, the Squadrons flying, and the main Body in confuſion; ſome dying, and others ſlain outright; ſuch a King (I ſay) though intirely vanquiſhed, is no leſs glorious than his Conqueror. Permit me then (ſweet Siſter) to call to my memory that Battail of *Pavie*, as one of the moſt eminent Actions of all my Reign, and if you ſadly call to mind, that this *Prince* (whom *Italy* and *Spaine* ſaw my Priſoner) was your Husband; yet forget not (if you pleaſe) that I am alſo your *Brother*. But now to paſs from Forrain to Domeſtick affairs, from Wars abroad to civil Diſſentions, and ſo from *Spain* to *Flanders*;

what

what honour did I not gain, when I did chastise the Revolted City of *Gaunt:* This Rebellion was so great, that the consequence might have been terrible, and yet to see this fire extinguished before the flame grew higher, I was forced to have confidence in an Antient Enemy newly reconciled; and enter into a Province of a *Prince*, whom I permitted out of *Prison*, and to take assurance from one whom I had forced to pay a Ransom: In a word, I was constrained to adventure the hazard of losing all, that by my bold endeavours I might preserve *Flanders*; no Policy (more suspicious than mine) could well overcome such scruples in this conjuncture, when (during the time after deliberation) the Rebels found out wayes to foment new Revolts, and to corroborate their unjust usurpation. As for me, I used all waies, and means; and as soon as my reason discovered, that I could not suffer the contempt of that Rebellious Town without great disgrace, and much dishonour, I commended *Cæsar* and his Fortune to the mercy of the Wind and Waves; I slighted that which others thought I had cause to fear; I marched throughout all *France* Heroickly, and at last chastised this Popular City; and reduced her to her Devoirs. Truly *Francis* used generosity well beseeming him; (But I think I may say in this occasion) my courage well beseemed me. Now to return from *Flanders* into *Spain*, if we look toward *Fort-Arabia*, what new Trophies hath not she discovered. This Siege cost me no more days, than many believed it would have expended years: And it fell out there, what *Cæsar* once said (*veni, vidi, vici.*) But (my most dear Sister) that which I relate to you alone, my wisdome obliges me to deny to all *Europe*: Your discretion hath merited this Confidence, and he who hath trusted you with his life, shall never fear to trust you with any secret. We tell you then that the gaining of *Rome* addeth a marvellous lustre to our renown, which others would endeavour to obscure. It is at her Capitol where *Cæsars* and the *Emperours* ought to Triumph, and it is just to make this imperious City (the Mistress of the World) to stoop to the power and puissance of her chief Lords and Masters. But if Vertue be scrupulous (in this conjunction) and that any thing seem too much to struggle with, or disturb her victorious magnificence; let us leave *Rome*, and turn our eyes towards *Boloyn*, which saw us receive the *Imperial Crown* from the *Sovereign* Bishop; and yet, if she can expect a further sacrifice to pacifie and appease; and so to cause her utterly to forget the sacking of *Rome*; she may (if she please) follow us into *Austria*, where she shall see we have proved the *Buckler* of *Christendom* in repulsing the forces of invincible *Solyman*; who was the greatest *Emperour* of the *Turks*; she shall see us make head against our greatest Enemy, and to damme up that dangerous Torrent, which threatned the Ruine of all *Germany*, and (possibly) of all *Europe*; but if the Lady Virtue please to march with me out of *Europe* into *Africa*, she may look on me there Grapling with the same Enemies; That is, the *Mahometans*, the greatest Foes to Christianity. Who hath not heard of the taking and sacking of *Gouletta*? and what climate is so remote from the Coast of *Barbary*, as hath not talked of this grand Action; seeing that almost all Christians were spectators on the effects of this War; where I alone caused the *Roman Eagle* to fly in Triumph, in those places where she never appeared since the defeat of *Hannibal*, and the victory of *Scipio*? Who hath not understood of the flight of *Cairad-*

den *Barbaroſſa*, that famous, and formidable Pirate, who ſo enriched that abhominable Town of *Algiers*, and made ſo many Slaves? he was the terror of all our Coaſts, and kept all our Naval Force in ſubjection: he ſtiled one of his Ships the *Dragon of the Sea*; notwithſtanding this Dragon flew before the Eagle: And if the Pirate loſt not his Navy, his Life, nor his Liberty, yet he loſt his Honour, which he ought to have prized above them all. This famous Thief fled from his mighty Wealth, and we had the honour to purſue him flying, who was the Tyrant of the Sea. Who hath not heard of the fame of the taking of *Tunis*, the moſt important, and capital City of that whole Kingdome? Have we not cauſe to hope (as the effect of ſo great Atchievements) that *Fez*, and *Morocco*, ſhall have the ſame deſtiny? That *Algiers* it ſelf ſhall fall within our power? And that all *Affrick* ſhall yield entirely to the fortune of our Victories? Yes (my dear Sifters) we have cauſe to hope, and the ſucceſs had been infallible, according to expectation, if the Affairs of *Europe* had not ſtop'd our progreſs in *Barbary*, and that we had not been conſtrain'd to return ſpeedily to Sea. It is true, I changed the climate, and encountered with a new ſort of Enemies, but loſt not the leaſt point of good fortune; Victory followed me from *Affrica* to *Germany*; and the *Duke* of *Cleve* found that I became ſpeedily a Terrible Enemy; I defied him and all his Troops, took him and all his Towns: And if my Clemency had not equalized my Valour, I had buried him under the Ruines of his own *Territories*. Then the Error of *Luther* had infected *Germany*, and I could no leſs then with Fire and Faggot oppoſe the birth of that *dangerous Monſter*. How many Towns did fortifie themſelves againſt our victorious Armies, which ſaw their own Walls thrown down, and demoliſhed by the ſucceſful ſtrength of our puiſſant Forces: *Vlmes* yielded firſt, *Auſpurgh* followed quickly after; *Halle* was willing to imitate the one & the other; & above *thirty Towns more* ſubmitted likewiſe: at laſt *Straſbourg*, with her famous Clock (of which all *Europe* talketh) remembers the hour of her ſurpriſe, and that of my Triumph. What ſhall I tell you of the *Duke* of *Saxonie*, the dangerous head of that party, that violent Defender of the *Impoſtures* of *Luther*, who ſet all *Germany* in Armes, and all the Countries of the *Empire* in confuſion? Did it not turn to his diſhonour, and my glory, that God conducted *Cæſar* and his fortune? Having ſo good, ſo great a Pilot, his Ship could not periſh? Did not all *Europe* ſee the very foundation of this Hereſie impriſoned within my power? and hath not that Priſon clearly ſeen, that the Cauſe which I defended was that of Heaven, and that a Robbing of me, was a Robbing of God? and ſeeing *that God will be for us*, we may demand, *Quis erit contra nos*? Who dare be againſt us? Thus (my dear Sifters) I have had this particular fortune, that almoſt alwayes thoſe who dared to attaque my Perſon, or Forces, have not onely loſt the hopes of Conquering me, but even themſelves, their Forces, their Armies, their Eſtates, and their Liberties. It is now that this very thought calls to memory the impriſonment of *Francis le Grand*, and his impriſonment, the great advantages which I obtained with thoſe good ſucceſſes which attended: I ſhall conclude with a Narration of my ſucceſſes, as the chiefeſt Honour to my greateſt actions. *Hedin* did offer Sacrifice to my memory, and deſired permiſſion to be inſerted in the Schedule of my Triumphs. *Te-*

roune

roune being taken appeares no little ornament; and many other Towns, which I ſubdued in *France*, humbly craved the ſame favours. But (moſt dear Ladies) I ſhall yet in this diſcourſe mount higher then I have before. Then know that I cauſed *Paris* to tremble, *which alone is able to ſhake a Kingdom*; *Paris* that vaſt and ſuperbe City, which could (as antient *Rome*) levy Armies in an inſtant; *Paris* (I ſay) which the whole Earth conſiders now, as the *Abridgment of the World*, and as the wonder of the Univerſe. After this (dear Ladies) I ſhall not dare to ſpeak any thing, of what I have done in *Europe* and in *Africk*; But, (as a device and a well drawn intention preſented to me) which fancied me to paſs beyond *Hercules's Pillars*. Remember yet (if you pleaſe) that it was under my auſpitious conduct and Authority, that *Peru* was firſt diſcovered. This inexhauſtible ſource of Gold and treaſure, and this new World, the old World never knew; and of this marvellous maſs of Riches, my ſucceſſours may more truly glory, then ever *Pompey* did, and raiſe Troops of Armed Men, ſtamping their feet upon the Earth, as oft as they pleaſe. Yes (my Dear Ladies) it is this that will cauſe the Renown of *Spain* to be illuſtrious to all poſterity, and render her formidable to all the Earth. And to preſent you with an Epitomy of my life, ſince my age of *Seventeen Years*, I have made *nine voiages into* Germany, *ſix into* Spain, *Seven into* Italy, *four into* France, *ten into the* Low-Countrys, *two into* England, *two into* Africa, *beſides eleven times traverſing the Main Ocean*. What ſhall I ſay any more, I have made Warres, Truces, Peace and Alliances, equally honorable, And (except the enterprize of *Algiers*, and the Seige of *Marcelles*) you ſhall find that my Reign was a continued proſperity; and that antient Captain, which the Greeks ſtiled the Town-taker, gained not ſo many as I. But (perhaps you will ſay unto me) ſince all theſe affaires ſucceed ſo favourably, and that you appeared like a Star ſituated in the Heavens, attended with fortunate aſpects, thereby inabled to Regulate your own deſtinies, wherefore will you abandon the Helm of that great veſſel which you have ſo proſperouſly governed, transferring thoſe great affairs to a young Pilot; who hath not ſo large experience as you? His high endeavours may be as great, or more, yet, 'tis poſſible, not ſo ſucceſsful. O (moſt honoured Sifters) it is the deſire of immortal Glory, that cauſed me to quit this tranſient ſplendor; and to live eternally in the memory of men, that I ceaſe to Reign. It is true, that (to this inſtant) fortune hath been ever propitious to me, that ſhe hath followed my Standard, that ſhe never was unconſtant unto my party; Nay her favours ſurpaſſed my expectations, and ſeconded all my Ambitions: But I know well this is not allways her nature, and I am equally perſwaded that I ought not to be too confident; for having placed me upon the very higheſt ſtep of glory (to which degree no man aſcended before me) ſhe hath withal elevated me ſo high; that on the view of the circumference where I ſtand, I am invironed with precipices which are able to amaze the greateſt courage. Though I walk ſecurely, (accuſtomed to behold thoſe dangers without fear;) yet one falſe ſtep, may cauſe all the glory of my renown, to be daſht in peices, and hazard all the travailes of my whole life to be loſt in an unfortunate moment. Yes (my dear Sifters) as I know the inconſtancy of Fortune, ſo I underſtand the injuſtice and malice of men, and

how they look on Conquerors: They would not that they ſhould be ſometime ſucceſsful, but conſtantly and always; it is not by precedent noble actions, but by the laſt events that they cenſure and judge of the Grandeur of all former Enterprizes; and *when fortune forſakes them, renown takes leave with her, and reputation dies and followes no farther*; ſome will ſay that meer chance gave them their advantages, and that their own imprudence deſtroy'd all: and truly if *Alexander* himſelf, after he had gained the Battel of *Granique*, had loſt that of *Arbella*, he had returned without honour into *Macedonia*, Although (effectively) he had been neither leſs wiſe, nor valiant. Why ſhould not I then fix a nail in the wheele of this inconſtant Chariot; to ſtop her inſtability? and why ſhould the World think it no danger to expoſe to loſs ſuch high renown obtained with ſo much induſtry? were it not better that I ſhould quit the Company of this mutable Lady, then that ſhe ſhould (coyly) forſake me? And that I ſhould rather deſcend voluntarily from the Throne, then to expoſe my ſelf to the hazard of a precipitious fall? A man ought not to flatter and deceive himſelf in an affair ſo important as this, my Throne is not more ſecure then that of *Bajazet*, and as for *Tamberlain*, was not *Barbary* alone capable to confound him and all his Power? There are fewer Crowns and Scepters intire (in all the Earth) then thoſe which lie bruiſed and broken under the feet of Fortune. This grand and ſad object may teach all Princes (who ſtrike their Subjects with fear) to be daunted and tremble themſelves. It is then with the ſtrength of reaſon, and a conſideration ſo high, that I arrive ſafely on ſhore, having hitherto ſayled ſo fortunately, and ſo much the ſooner; becauſe I can be no greater then I am (or could) reaſonably deſire more; ſhould I then vainly expoſe my ſelf to Storms, Rocks, Sands, and Shipwrack it ſelf? Beſides, as Kings have not the immortality of the Gods (if a Chriſtian may be admitted to uſe this Phraſe) ſo they have not their Power: But (on the contrary) are ſubject to the moſt feeble caſualties and all infirmities of other men. I am remembred by my diſeaſes, which daily increaſe upon me, to take order for my Supream and laſt affaires, for fear of being prevented, and to remit the Scepter of Government (which I cannot longer well ſupport) to the ſhoulders of a Prince more young and vigorous then I, and conſequently, more capable to bear up ſo great a weight with all the Royal dignity of the *Empire*. The Soul and body (my dear Siſters) are ſo chained together, that the weakneſs of the one muſt needs communicate infirmity to the other, and then, when the conſtitution of the one is altered (it is very poſſible) that the operation of the other muſt admit a change: Judge then, after ſo many People, and ſo many Princes have liſtned to my voice, as to an Oracle; and followed my opinion as decrees of Heaven (if I had done well to have expoſed my infirmities to the eyes of all the World?) No, the pangs of the Gout are ſo ſharp and picquant, that they force my Patience to ſighs and Groans; it muſt needs be then greater wiſdome that thoſe cryes ſhall Eccho no where but in the deſart, and where no perſon ſhall over-hear them. Would Men, that I ſhould do like *Tiberius*, who to preſerve the *ſhadow* of his former Power, was obliged to diſguiſe his miſery in an *Iſland*, where he was confined by diſpatching daily Warrants to *Rome* for the death of ſome *Citizen*, for no other end but that *Rome* might know *Tiberius* was ſtill living?

No,

No, this Barbarous proceeding becomes not a Chriſtian, a Prince, nor a Man, and I hate to practice it. For that time that I have had my health, I conceive I have governed my Subjects in ſuch a faſhion, that none (except my Enemies) can be diſpleaſed that I either lived, or reigned. But ſeeing my ſtrength failes me, I ſhall not farther prefer mine ambition above the ſafety of my Subjects. Other Princes leave their Crowns to their Children onely at that inſtant when they die, that is, when they are not fit to wear the Diadem any longer. But as for me, I was never willing that Death ſhould make this preſent to my Son; but rather, that he ſhould receive, and hold this Bleſſing from me; and as I was a means to make him live, ſo (before I dyed) I would be a meanes to make him Reign, and thereby oblige him to me more entirely. Moreover (not to conceal any of my thoughts) I know well that moſt people of the Earth imitate the Injuſtice of the antient people of *Libya*, who adored the Riſing Sun, but regard not the Sun-ſetting. Yes (Royal Ladies) the flouriſhing age of *Philip* withdraws the Subjects hearts from the gray haires of *Charles*; they would regard the latter years of my Reign as an unſeaſonable *cloud* which interpoſed the bright beams of this new *Star*, and attend with impatience a thing which (rationally) they ought to fear; and if the more moderate party be pleaſed with their attendance; yet others indiſcreet, are inflamed with their new deſires; and will not ſpare to make unjuſt vows, to haſten a birth to their expectations. The humours of men, *who float in an eternal change, and dwell in a continued inſtability, never ſatisfied with the preſent condition of affaire*, fancy new felicities in their imaginations of things to come. It may be ſaid of the People, as of thoſe who are ſick, who think they ſhall receive a Refreſhment by change of the Scituation, or place where they lye; and, *how good ſoe'r a Prince is, we may eaſily diſcern fewer ſighs and groans at his Funerals, then cries, or acclamations of joy at the Coronation of his Succeſſor.* Then they fancy to themſelves the Golden Age, and the innocency of former dayes, when their new Maſter begins to Reign; and ſix Moneths after (perhaps) regrett the death of the former Prince, repine, and murmur at him that is alive: *David, who was according to Gods own heart*, yet was not ſo in the eyes of *Shimei* and *Abſalon*: And who knows (in imitation of the latter) if the Malady of Rebellious ſpirits ſhall not prove contageous in the evil Counſels of Sycophants, and that Flatterers may not infect the Soul of *Philip*? He is well born, but young; he is my Son, but a Prince; and as I am not wiſer then *David*, ſo (it is poſſible) he may prove no more obedient then *Abſalon*. I know that men have obſerved his ſad complaint in *England* of the condition of his Fortune, and I am not ignorant of what his Confederates have counſelled to exaſperate him, in regard the *Engliſh* would not entitle him their *King*, but the Husband of their *Queen*. (Madams) would men that I ſhould hear that this young *Lyon* had broken his Chains, and that his fury had enraged him to trouble the courſe of my proſperities? Have I not encountered enough with Forreign Warres, but that I muſt be embroyled in a Civil? And would they that I ſhould commit my ſelf to a condition more hateful then death? to be at diſſention with my own Son, whom I love more then mine own life? Should I expoſe my ſelf to the danger of a War, where the victory and the defeat would prove equally *funeſt*, and dire-

direful to me? Where if I were conquered I muſt be vanquiſhed by a *Paricide*? Or if I ſhould prove the Conqueror, ſhould be conſtrain'd to ſacrifice mine own Son, as an Oblation to the *Empire*? And ſo blot out the high crime of *Treaſon*, with blood flowing from mine own veins? No, no, *Herod*, and *Charles* follow not the ſame Maximes, if *Herod* cauſed his Children to die, I love rather to cauſe mine to Reign: And as the innocency of *Philip* is like to that of thoſe young *Princes*, I have been willing to provide that he ſhould not be able to loſe it. To this end, that I might preſerve my ſelf from imitating that unfortunate Polititian, I beleeve that few Princes will copy out my example, as I have had much difficulty to find out any, to imitate of former Ages. However Poſterity will commend my deſign, when they ſhall underſtand how much my Son hath merited; I having done a thing ſo extraordinary. And I wiſh, with all my heart, that *Philip* may have Children, ſo wiſe and hopeful, that he may doe for them, as I am about to doe for him; and that he may voluntarily ſurrender his Empire without any conſtraint at all.

All theſe reaſons (honoured Siſters) are (as ſeemes to me) forcible enough to oblige me to act as I have done. Yet (if without oſtentation and vanity I ſhall diſcover the ſecret of my ſoul) I vow to you I am in part ſtript from the *Empire*, by a deep ſence of Piety, and Devotion to Religion: For why? the reſt of my life paſt hath been mixed in the Tumults of Armies, and with Managery of War; where he who is ſtiled *Dominus exercituum* hath not been ſo adored as he ought. And I cannot but know, that he (from whom all their puiſſance ſprings) will demand an exact account of their Adminiſtration: And that they who have judged Nations and People, ſhall (at laſt) be judged themſelves. Yes (Siſters) as I know, how the ambition of *Francis* and mine have troubled all *Europe*, and interrupted the repoſe of all *Chriſtendom*; I fear, that this ardent deſire of Renown, which hath ſo animated us both, will not prove a cauſe and ground ſufficient and lawful before the undoubted *Tribunal* of the *Juſtice* of God: Seeing then, *that the wiſdom of men is but fooliſhneſs before him*, their vanity can be no other then criminal abomination. *I tell you, I have a fearful ſence of the blood of ſo many Souldiers ſlain, of the outcries of ſo many people ruined, and of the flames of ſo many Towns burned, leſt they ſhould mount to the Throne of Heaven, and there cry for vengeance againſt me.* But if that be true (which we muſt not doubt, ſince Truth it ſelf ſpeaks it) *that the Righteous fall ſeven times a day, how often offendeth he, who is not juſt at all?* This reflection (my dear Siſters) hath cauſed me to look on Scepters, Crowns, Kingdomes, and *Empires*, as common obſtacles of my Salvation; and made me reſolve to loſe them, to find out means to ſave my Soul. An old Captain of mine one day entreating my Paſs, and *Conge*, told me that one ought to have ſome ſpace and time betwixt the affairs of this life, and the day of death. This piercing word ſtroke ſo deeply within my *Soul, that it can never be blotted out*: And ſince that fortunate hour, wherein that ſage Captain admoniſhed me, even to this inſtant, I have imitated his prudence; nor hath that pious *Memento* ſlipt out of my memory. No (virtuous Ladies) it was not in a rude Tumult that I concluded this Grand action; I examined it a hundred times, before I undertook it; and after that, I ſubmitted my own blindneſs to the inſpirations of Heaven. Yet if beſides

this

this ſo juſt cauſe of my Retreat, I may be permitted to add another reaſon, which ſhall be the laſt end of my diſcourſe: I vow freely, that the death of *Francis the firſt*, ſeemed to ſay to *Charles the fifth*, that it was high time for him to ceaſe to live, or at leaſt, longer to Reign; in effect it were not juſt that this great perſon ſhould enjoy repoſe in his Tombe, and that I ſhould continue ſtill in trouble: Seeing that our travells are alike; it is fit (in ſome reſpect) that our recompence ſhould be proportionable; and as ſome illuſtrious Perſons buried him when he was dead, I am content (in ſome ſort) to bury my ſelf alive. All the Earth cannot now afford an Enemy worthy of *Charles*, after the death of *Francis*, and the youth of *Henry* hath not the proportion of years to that age, to which I am reduced, he ought firſt to have made *three hundred Sieges*, and gained more then *twenty Battailes*, before he be fit to enter the Liſts equally with me: It were not juſt to expoſe lightly the Glory of an old Captain to the fortune of a young Souldier; I have too much to loſe, and I ſee too little to gain, to prevent me from a game ſo hazardous, and I ſhould not have leſs Teſtimony of imprudence then of courage. If I ſhould longer be pertinaciouſly confident, the Siege of *Metz* hath cleared mine eyes, and makes me ſee perſpicuouſly that fortune, like Ladies, loves to court youthful youth. Let not then men think it ſtrange, if I retire my ſelf from her ſervice, and commend my Son to her favour. In a word, *Charles* oppoſed *Francis* as long as he lived, and I leave *Philip* to grapple with *Henry* as long as he Reignes. It ſhall ſuffice for my renown, that I leave off to Reign then, when I have moſt abſolute power, and hence all the World ſhall be in an amaze; ſhall diſpute and doubt, which Act ſhall be more glorious, either to have Reigned ſo Soveraignly, or acquitted the Empire ſo freely. Seeing therefore that the Empires of the chiefeſt *Cæſars* were not more glorious then that of mine, it is fit that having excelled all others, I ſhould at laſt conquer my ſelf, quitting my Ambition with my Crowns, and Scepters, and ſo with this new kind of Victory obtain an unheard-of glory, which all poſterity ſhall not equallize, but with much difficulty. Let us go on then (moſt incomparable Ladies) let us go on to honour the Trees of my deſart, and ſtore my Wilderneſs of retirement, with the Monuments and glorious Trophies of ſo many Nations; and we will make the whole Earth confeſs, that he that had power to quit ſo many Crowns and Scepters, was not unworthy to wear them.

The Cenſure.

CErtainly it is not leſs difficult to quit Crowns and Scepters, then to gain and Conquer them: and thoſe who ſay it is lawful to violate the Lawes to gain a Soveraign Crown, had no regard of giving approbation to that Act which the Emperour Charles *the fifth effected in this unparalell'd example and Reſolution. That wicked woman who cauſed her Chariot to wheel over the body of her own Father, to make her way more eaſie to his Throne, never thought of a voluntary reſignation of a Crown as* Charles *did. An effect ſo ſtupendeous and extraordinary, that it ſurpriſes all the World: Many will give no credit to it, ſome admire it, others (without judgement) ſlight the Action as not worthy imitation; ſome attribute this Act to the Grandeur of*

his courage, other (if I durst say it) to his pusillanimity. His own Son (and so Strada doth assure us) could not abstain from a gallant and ingenious Raillery, for when one told him he had the hap of a good year when the Emperor his Father surrendred his Crown, he replyed that his Father might have another when to repent it. This sentence was a certain prognostick of the humor of Philip the second. And these different discourses of the Father and Son, makes it evident to the World, that Philip would not appear of the temper of Charles; And that it should never be said of him, that antiquity related of a Noble Grecian, that Tydides was better than his Father. This subtle and cunning Politician resolved not to be so kind to Philip the third, as his Father had been to him; who through the infirmities of age, and the Gout, and the thoughts of death, conceived himself obliged to surrender a Scepter he had born so long. Our Lewis the eleventh, liked not a Maxim and resolution of this Nature; who, as long as he could retain his soul within his body, held fast all the marks of Royalty with Soveraign Power. It is true that he commended them (at the last moment of his death) to his Son; but he sent them in such a fashion, as a man may easily believe the Act was rather to tast his inclination, then to oblige his Son, and rather to discover the Daulphins resentment, then to express his own paternal tenderness. A man may say, that this Prince seemed to have a long time to live, because he desired to prolong his Reign, he used all endeavours to cause his miseries to dye, that men might know that he was yet alive, he fortified the Castles of Plessis, and Tours rather against death then any other Enemy; he experienced the choicest and rarest remedies to renew Old Age, and cure his Consumption: And if his Christianity had not sweetned the Asperity of Policy, it may be well believed, that he would have ordained when he was a dying, what once a great Politician appointed, that he would have showers of tears run plentifully at his Funerals, thereby (if it were possible) to cause the living to resent his power when he was in the grave. And now, considering all the precedent Affairs, I may be justly permitted to honour, and commend a Spaniard (if a Prince born in Flanders may bear that name) and dare venture to say, the action of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, was Grand, Glorious, truly Noble, and Heroick: For he freely parted with that which the loss and ruin of ten Bloody Battels could not force him to. He understood (at last) the vanities of those Grandeures which he had so much courted, and deprived Fortune of all power of robbing him of any thing, and as his Motto was, Plus ultra, so he concluded he had something to endeavour beyond his Empire, and earthy Kingdoms to look after. This great soul found out (at last) that the whole Earth was but as a point, or prick in comparison of Heaven. Without doubt the blessed Spirit which guides the hearts of Kings (and so a great King tells us) infused this generous Resolution. And though this Action have no example but that of Dioclesian (whom the Primitive Christians permitted not to be ranged amongst good Princes; yet we may confess and avow, it was a sublime, and high Act, worthy of greatest admiration, & most worthy of those happy times, when men said, Philosophi sunt Reges, & Reges Philosophantur. To conclude, it is not less rare to see a King become an humble Hermit, then to see a poor Gardiner advanced to be a King, as Abdolominus was, whom Alexander commanded to be crowned. Now as it is rare and admirable to see one surrender, and quit a Crown, as Charles the Fifth; so it is no less to be admired to see one assume, and take it up, as one of our Kings did, who was Lewis the Fourth. His Father was dead in Prison, his Subjects in rebellion, and (at the same time) he an Exile in England, but the success of

time

Lewis the Fourth King of France
sculp. by P. Stent
R E sculp

time changed the fate of all affairs, and ſtruck a deep ſenſe into the Rebels thoughts; *ſo that they (who ſo evil intreated the Father) called home the Son to elevate him to the* Royal Throne. *Behold here that gallant young Prince at the Sea ſide, and in the view of thoſe veſſels wherein he ſailed from* Dover *to* Callis, *thus congratulating his ſubjects, before he accepted the preſent of his Scepter.*

LEWIS THE FOURTH

To his Revolted Subjects.

BEfore I ſhall receive your Oath of Fidelity, which I may juſtly demand, and you ought dutifully to take, I ſhall let you know, you have recalled (this day) a Prince (who during his Exile) had nothing elſe to doe, but to ſtudy how to Rule and Reign; and hereby I ſhall enforce you to believe, that you ſhall not be able to make a Royal Throne a paſſage into my Fathers Priſon: And after you have preſented me with a Crown, to dare to wiſh me ſo much ill, as once to think of Chains and Irons. I know well, that this diſcourſe will ſurpriſe you, and that you did not believe, when you preſented me with a Scepter, that I ſhould not rather have received it with Thanks, then Reprehenſions; but this Act is extraordinary in its commencement, in its progreſs, and in its concluſion; and it is juſt that all circumſtances ſhould be proportionable. Let it then ſuffice you onely to know, that if I be ignorant to what point Subjects are to pay their obeiſance, yet I am not ignorant to what degree Soveraigns may extend their clemency: Notwithſtanding there is this difference betwixt them, that *the Subjects have no limits for the firſt, but Soveraigns have for the latter. The People are obliged to the Princes wills, both by their Birth, and their Laws. They owe them their goods, their lives, and their liberties; and their Princes owe them nothing but Juſtice, which can hardly pardon Traitors.* If theſe Truths, and Maximes had been equally underſtood, and followed by the late King my Soveraign, and you his People, affaires had not been in that ſad condition as they now are. The State had not been reduc'd to ſuch confuſion; the Provinces had not been Cantonized; *Germany* had not been ſo full of Factions; *Italy* had not been ſo divided; all the Cities of the kingdom had not had ſo many Kings as they now have Governors; you had not been guilty of the crime of Treaſon, in elevating an Uſurper on the Throne; the King my Father might ſtill have Reigned, or (at leaſt) I might have received the Crown from his hands, and not from yours; his Tomb might have been bedewed with my tears, his Scepter had not been prophaned, his Hearſe might have been covered with Trophies, and not with Chains. And (to ſpeak all in a few words) you might have been *happy and innocent*. But as his *Clemency*, and your *Rebellion* were the ſole cauſers of all theſe evils, ſo your *Obedience*, and my *Juſtice*, are the onely means to make reparation. Conſider a little (I pray you) (that you fall not back in the ſame eſtate

wherein

wherein you were) in what Relation you now ſtand; and in what condition I am. Firſt, you have violated all ſorts of Rights in the perſon of your King; you have raiſed a War againſt him; you have aſſaulted him, and afterwards poyſoned him; you have abuſed the confidence he had in you, you have detained him Priſoner with as great *Treaſon* as *Injuſtice*, with as great *inſolence* as *cruelty*: an *injury* which was never offered (hardly) to the perſon of an ordinary *Herald*. Thus you have violated, and impudently abuſed your *King*; you have detained him Priſoner during a Treaty of Peace, for five years together led him from priſon to priſon; you have forced him not onely to ſet by his *Militia*, and to depoſe his Crown; but you have conſtrain'd him with violence to transfer it into other hands then mine. To conclude; you put him to death, and you have reduced my ſelf to a ſtrict neceſſity, to ſearch my ſafety in my flight, and to goe and ſhew my miſery beyond the Seas. Yet this is not all, you have done one thing which never any did before; it hath been ſeen ſometimes, that the *Grandees* of a Kingdom have interpoſed themſelves againſt a *Tyranny*, and have deſtroyed it; but 'twas never ſeen that they themſelves elevated a *Tyrant* to the Throne as *you* have done: In theſe kind of crimes the Abettors may be ſaid to be more criminal then he who hath received all the fruit: For if each one of you in particular had aſpired to ſet the Crown upon his own head, you might have been more excuſable, then to have ſnatcht it from your *lawful Prince* to place it on the head of an *Uſurper*. But you'l ſay to me, *the Prince that bore it was not able to ſupport it*. To that I ſhall anſwer, As I have the honour to be his Son, and was his Subject, it belongeth not to me to determine what he *could*, or what he *could not*: ſeeing he was my *Father*, I ought not to preſume to be his judge, and ſeeing he was my King, I ought not to be ſo impudent to cenſure, much leſs to condemn his actions; he being not obliged to render an account to any, *But God alone*. Believe then, the ſame reſpect I have for his memory, you ought to have had for his perſon, he was your King as well as mine: ſeeing then that *Kings are called the Fathers of the People*; Their Subjects are obliged to have for them a true reſentment of reſpect, which their very birth may infuſe into them; Beſides as *Soveraignes are the true Images of God, and that the ſplendor of their puiſſance is a beam and ray of his power*; Subjects ought to have an equal ſubmiſſion to their Soveraigns wil. When then you ſee a Comet appear, the Sun eclipſed, the Thunder bolt fall on innocent heads, when you ſee Floods drown whole Townes, by their inundation, and the Sea (paſſing his bounds, and ſwallowing whole Provinces in the bottom of the deep) devour them up; When you ſee an Earthquake make Kingdoms tremble, and cauſe horrid devaſtations of whole Countries; then (I ſay) it is permitted to the People to murmur? Do you not diſcern the contrary, how in theſe occurrences they redouble their vowes and prayers, and that they are never more obedient to God then at ſuch a time, as if God had forſaken his providence of the Univerſe? and when it ſhall ſo happen, that Heaven (for the puniſhment of your ſins) gives you a Prince, under whoſe Reign *policy* and *prudence* are not well obſerved; during whoſe Government Forraign and Civil Warrs devour all with cruel ravages; it belongeth not then to you to reprehend and condemn your Soveraign; for, is he feeble? then you ought to ſuſtain

him

him; is he unfortunate? you ought to bemoan him: is he wicked? you ought to look upon him as a ſcourge and chaſtiſement ſent from Heaven, and to wait with Patience for a remedy from that hand, which hath cauſed your evil. For when a Prince commands an Army, and gives Battail; if it ſo happen that the Souldiers perform not their devoires and duty, that his ſquadrons yeild, the main body be broken, and (in the end) after he hath done even miracles in his perſon, he be yet conſtrained to quit the field, and to retreat from his Enemies? Is it not the Prince that loſeth the Battail? Is it not the Prince that ſuffers the diſgrace? Is it not the Prince that is reputed vanquiſht? And that bears the loſs and infamy of the day? Notwithſtanding, that by his own particular actions he hath merited to be conqueror? ſeeing it is thus, why will not you (in ſuch conjunctions) bear with the infirmities, and misfortunes, of your Princes, as well as they do with yours? Or (to ſpeak ſomething yet nearer to the quick) why do you not repair theſe diſorders by your own more exact obedience? The Prince alone is obvious in a Battail to the infamy, Cowardiſe and misfortune of his whole Army, and you are thouſands, who are obliged to ſtrengthen the Authority and Honour of your King, which he cannot ſupport with his ſingle valour. Believe me, *if all Subjects would be loyal, no Kingdom could be miſerable*: and *if all Princes thought more of ſeverity then of clemency, there would not be ſo many Subjects Rebells.* Moreover if it were permitted to the Capritious people to take and give Crowns, when they fancied a change; I conceive there is not a Shepheard but might hope to be a King; and not a King but might be reduced to be a Shepheard; ſo unruly and uncertain are their floating Judgements. But (to ſpeak the truth to you) theſe things ought not thus to paſs: we are your *Maſters*, and you ought not to become *ours*. It is not that I am ignorant that *God diſpoſeth of Scepters and Crowns, as he pleaſeth, and gives them as he liſteth, and beſtowes them on, or takes them from whom he will, and what he always doth is without all injuſtice; ſometimes permitting that the people ſhall elevate to the Throne, thoſe who never pretended to ſuch a high degree. But when ſuch an accident happeneth it is uſually in favour to thoſe extraordinary perſons in whom Virtue hath impreſt a Royal Character ſo viſible, that it were almoſt injuſtice not to admit them Kings.* To conclude, that which precedes, and that which followes, ought to be ſufficient to juſtifie the effect, and it became *Charles Martel, Pepin*, and *Charlemain* puiſſantly to erect a Throne, which was not founded upon a line of right ſucceſſion, yet even in this reencounter you will ſee the event to this preſent hath not authorized your deſign. The Engine of this enterprize, hath been ſlain in battail; The *Arch Biſhop* of *Rhemes* preſerved not his life, but three days after he had anointed the uſurper. But it is not ſeaſonable (to day) to exaggerate the injuſtice of your proceedings; I am not willing to particularize other things, and I ſhall ſatisfie my ſelf with telling you, in General, that *Kings ought not to loſe their Crowns, but with their lives; and that nothing can diſpenſe Subjects from the reſpect, and loyalty, which they owe to their Soveraigns, nor any pretenſe (whatſoever) Authoriſe Treaſon and Rebellion. If ſacred perſons* may not enjoy their particular priviledge, (*which is derived from none but God*) they ſhall be expoſed, more then others, to all ſorts of miſeries; Their guards will appear to them inſtead of Enemies, their Thrones will rather ſeem a direful precipice then a place of honour,

and safety; a *King* (*of this kind*) is no better then an *illustrious slave*, when he shall have as many Masters as Subjects. This first disorder will quickly cause a second, for, when the *Nobles* of a Kingdom fail in their duty to their *Prince*, their own *Vassals*, and *Tenants* will forfeit their fealty to them, and then *Rebellion* communicated from the *Grandees* to the *Commons*, and so descending from one Soul to another, an universal confusion swells and devours all. *Every one will command, and no person obey*, and (in this resentment of *Levelling equality*) *each person proves a slave to his own ambition, and no one, either rationally Commands himself or others.* In effect, this is the most sad condition that a Kingdom can fall into, when there is no subjection, and where (for their punishment) the Prince hath not force to reduce the people to their obedience. For mine own part, when I consider my self to be the Son of a King, the successor of so many Kings, and yet, notwithstanding that I immediately succeed not my Father; This Idea imprints in me, a strange confusion as towards you, and an extream grief as towards my self; for when I reflect how the same Subjects who inchained *Charles in Fetters*, and gave the Crown to *Robert*, placed *Lewis* on the Throne, the malice which they bore to the Father, may it not easily fall upon the Son? and may not they fear that the Son will revenge the outrages committed against the Father? but yet (may some one say) those who have searcht after you, and passed the Seas to present you with a Scepter. they need not fear that the memory of their antient injustice will oblige you to punish them; They have reason rather to believe, that this last submission should blot out the memory of the first disservice: It is certain, *in the exact Rule of justice, no Noble Action ought to pass without his recompence*: and it is really as true, *That no Crime ought to escape without his punishment.* After all these reasons, what ought you not to fear? and what not to hope? you have recalled me to the Throne, tis true, but if you had not, had you not been as Criminal against *Lewis*, as you had been against *Charles*? he who gives to another, that which he hath taken from him, restores without doubt that which he hath taken, but his restoration is not a free present, and he ought not to expect thanks for an Action of that nature. No, it sufficeth if one punish not the first, without intending any recompence for the second. I may say also, that you understand not rightly all my present concernments; for why? because you have not left me still in exile, because you have rendred what justly appertained to me, Because you understood that I came to re-demand mine own, not with a powerful Army; and (being tyred with your crimes and miseries) you believe you may probably disarm the fury of Heaven, by this Act of justice; No, no, confide not in any of these pretences, for if I had not stronger considerations then these, I should commence my Reign with the punishment of your treasons, I should send them to prison, who restrained the person of my Father, and expose them to the most cruel tortures, who contrived and caused his death, with the greatness of his misfortunes. Those black crimes are such which nothing can exterminate; *Repentance and teares for common errours, where humane frailty may plead excuse, and not for Traitors & Rebells, nor for those, who have destroyed thrones and Scepters, inchained Kings, and created and protected Tyrants.* Think not then, that by taking an Oath of fidelity (which is your duty) that I am thereby ingaged not to do what becomes

comes a King. No, I ſcorn a Throne where I ſhould be a ſlave, and I had rather be obſcured in Priſon, as my Father was, then not to Reign as Sovereign. *Thoſe people with whom Loyalty is elective, forbear not to make their Kings abſolute, becauſe they could have no pretence of Juſtice to do otherwiſe:* Judg then, if thoſe who hold their Crowns from Heaven ought to acknowledge their ſubiects for their Maſters, and whether they ought not rather to Puniſh, or Pardon, as beſt agreeth with their pleaſure. In a word, *I find it far more glorious to be a loyal Subject, then to be a King diſobeyed.* Prepare then your ſelves to render me all that obedience which you owe me, and (without farther informing you whether you are to hope more for Clemency or Juſtice) reſolve your ſelves to an abſolute ſubmiſſion. I know well ſome peeviſh Politicians will cenſure, that I act not as I ought in this conjuncture, and that I ſhould reflect on former paſſages with ſome ſweetneſs, and gratifie you with Preſents, to encourage you with future hopes, but I preſume my Policy is more generous, and more ſecure then theirs; for if I had ſo perſwaded you, perhaps you would have believed me to have been more fit to wear my Fathers *Irons* then his *Crown*; and would have more ſuſpected me of weakneſs and diſſimulation; this exceſſive indulgence would give you more of fear, and me leſs of honour and eſtimation: I (being then ſo far from following ſuch Maximes) tell you once more, that I declare my ſelf to be your King. And (without farther capitulation with you) I aſcend the Throne by the ſteps of mine own Authority as Soveraign, as if not recalled by you at all. Hitherto I have let you know I am not ignorant how far the duty of Subjects ought to bend: But moreover I Judg it fit to acquaint you to what degree Soveraign Clemency may extend it ſelf; to this end, that by that reſentment, you may reaſonably know what to fear and what to hope. Know then, that *although a Prince may juſtly puniſh Traitors, he may likewiſe pardon penitent offenders, principally then, when he diſcerns his pardon ſhall reclaim inſolency to obedience, and fidelity:* For, ſeeing Kings are the Fathers of the people, they ought not always to be too ſevere in Juſtice; and *ſeeing that a Prince may afford grace & pardon to his enemies, he may without doubt ſhew pity and mercy to his own Subjects:* He cannot well puniſh them all, but muſt (in part) enfeeble himſelf; nor ſluce out their blood without emptying his own veins; wherefore he ought to ſpare them as far as Reaſon and Juſtice can make the way paſſable. When then a particular accident grows up againſt a Prince, or State, it may ſuffice that the heads of ſome chief offenders be ſacrificed to a reparation, and that by ſome ſevere examples others may be inſtructed with exemplary terrour. But ſeeing that the number of the offenders may prove infinite, and if all ſhould be puniſht, a deſolation of entire Provinces might ſucceed, and conſequently more men be loſt then 15 main Battails could devour, ſo that the piles of dead corps ſhould make mountains, and ſevere execution of revenge cauſe Rivers of blood: In ſuch conſiderations (I ſay) it may be better to uſe a great example of Clemency, then of Juſtice, and hazard ſomething, rather then to loſe the lives of ſo many miſerable ſoules; and *there cannot be a greater Victory then to vanquiſh ones own Paſſion* in ſuch dangerous conjunctures. Fear not then that I ſhall abuſe my Authority, ſince if I ſhould puniſh all who have offended, I ſhould reduce my Kingdom to a ſorlorn Deſart:

For

For who is there among you that hath not failed of his duty? Some have done mischief, others have desired it, or at least permitted it to be acted; some have assisted *Robert*, others have directly fought against their King; some have most perfidiously laid their hands upon their *Anointed Lord*, and commited a *sacred person* into Prison; and others have (at least) forsaken him. *The publique good is the pretext of all things, but Rebellion alone is the Mother of that horrid Monster.* The Nobles agitated (as they did) for their own interest, and the people by their madness, and unadvisedness, seconded their fury, and put in execution the intentions of the Parricides: Your Wives and your Children are not exempt from these crimes, seeing (without doubt) they made vowes for their Parents offending, and prayers against their Prince. Whereas then I cannot punish you all, but that I must utterly exterminate you; it resteth at my choice, whether I would become a King without Subjects, or to pardon you out of pure grace and bounty, and not by Obligation. It may be that during your lives you may repent you of your ancient crimes, and become as faithful as you have been disobedient. But (perhaps you will tell me) as to our selves, we have repented formerly before we sent to you to come, and receive the Scepter which belongs to you. 'Tis true, it may be as you have said, and that I have considered your Addresses to me were to make reparation of what formerly passed, and that with those hands you would advance to the Throne his Son whose Father you had barbarously removed. But (after all) *whosoever can abandon the path of Virtue to make choice of that of Vice, can again embrace that occasion if presented.* Wherefore you owe greater obligation to me then I can confidence to you, for had I not resolved to shew Grace and Pardon, the great number of Nobles which the King of *England*, my Unckle, hath presented to me to attend my person, had not come without Souldiers each one of these who incircle me have Troopes at their command; and I would not have received my Fathers Crown but in the head of a victorious Army, in the midst of a Field covered with dead, and dying men, bedewed with the blood of ten thousand Rebels; I would have been the Conqueror of my Kingdom, and not have mounted unto the Throne supported by the same hands who snatcht it from my Fathers head. But I call to mind I am your King, as you are also my Subjects, and in this relation I can love you yet, as guilty as you are; I can have pity for your errors, and kindness for your obstinacy; and I will not put my self into a condition of sadness after the Victory; I am then come to you without an Army, to receive what is mine. This Action (without doubt) is hardy, bold, and well deserveth glory; and is sufficiently obliged to demerit your acknowledgement in all degrees of fidelity. Before that you were criminous, the Divine and humane right conjured you not to forsake your Prince; but this day a new obligation chaineth you to more strict obedience. It is not enough alone to be faithful, so to satisfie your duty; but it is your part to blot out the memory of what is past, and to justifie what is present; you ought not to look on me meerly as your King, but as a King of your own choice, as a King who hath pardoned you, as a King who confideth in you, who now is commending his person into your hands, and commits the very care of his life to your protection, next to Heaven: Study then to gratifie such pressing endearments, and

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provoke not the wrath of Heaven upon your heads by new Rebellions. Thoſe who have examined your by paſt actions, approve not (doubtleſs) that reſolution that I have taken to return into *France* as I have done; for (they will tell me) what confidence can you have in thoſe, who have had no regard to their lawful Soveraign? They pretend much to deſire your preſence, but their feares exceed their deſires: And it is rather to ſecure your perſon, then to advance your Scepter; that though you are this day recalled, yet as long as your youth continued, they ſuffered you to live in exile, and obey'd *Robert*; but he being dead (at preſent) and they ſeeing that you were in a condition to obtain by force that which they now offer, they ſeem to repent, not ſo much regarding your loſs, as themſelves. Behold the reaſons which have here conteſted with my reſolution, which (ſeeing they are not without ſome rational ground) I have not deſiſted to perſwade my ſelf, and in that double choice, whether to make a War with you, or confide in you, I have choſe the latter as more glorious, and *I love rather to hazard my perſon then the deſtruction of all my Kingdoms.* Thoſe who taught me the art to Reign, have well foreſeen the Exigencies to which I am now reduced, and therefore without doubt they took ſo much care to adviſe me what I ought to do in Juſtice, and what I might be allowed to do in Clemency; Theſe two Vertues appear as contraries, but are not; they accord eaſily in the heart of a Prince. They mutually give place each one to the other in the Empire of his Soul, according to the divers occaſions which are preſented, for he ought always to abound in Clemency, and he ought not likewiſe to be ever too ſevere with the ſtrict meaſure of Juſtice. *Mercy and Juſtice are two excellent Virtues, but Prudence ought to imploy them both: And the Princes ſole Will, ought to be the only rule to guide them.* Having then conjured you to an equal confidence in me, as I have in you, let an Act of oblivion paſs, and *let us remember no more former crimes, unleſs it be to prevent relapſes.* Let us not look on the Tombe of *Charles*, but meerly to bedew it with the teares of tender repentance: Not to make it an Altar whereupon to ſacrifice his Enemies; let us Raze to the ground thoſe horrid Cells which ſerved for his impriſonment, thereby (if poſſible) to deſtroy the memory, and not to leave a mark or point to poſterity of thoſe black crimes; let us aſcend the Throne with as much ſplendor as if it had never been prophaned and let us Reign (if poſſible) with more honor and tranquillity then the late King my Soveraign did. But do not think I ſhall be able to effect it without the aid and ſuccours of my Subjects; deceive not your ſelves, *the valour and prudence of the Prince are not ſufficient of themſelves to make a Kingdom happy:* The Subjects ought to contribute their proportions. The Nobles are to offer their loyal obedience, and the people to follow their good example, and both degrees ought to be united in virtue: for otherwiſe he who giveth Victory and Maſters Fortune, will approve the virtue of the Prince in puniſhing the vice of the Subjects. *Thoſe who are valiant, do not always gain the Battail; and thoſe who are wiſe, are not always fortunate:* However let us place our ſelves in ſuch a capacity, that we may be ſucceſsful, though we cannot merit it. See here what your Prince hath ſaid unto you, who in Lieu of puniſhing you, hath pardoned you; inſtead of fighting with you, prepares to defend you; inſtead of being your Enemy, becomes your Conſervator, and who by his own birth and your choice, is now your Lord, your Maſter, and your King. Theſe two qualities per-

mit me not to Capitulate farther with you: It ſufficeth that I only add this; That I admit you to hope for clemency, whileſt I Reign, as I wiſh you to fear always my Juſtice, and beware that you put not your ſelves in a condition to make trial of the ſecond, or of loſing the former.

The Cenſure on *Lewis* the Fourth.

I Doubt not but many will cenſure, that in this diſcourſe I have confounded two great Virtues, & that I have miſtaken generoſity for prudence. Others will conclude this Action of our Lewis, *the fourth, as ſavouring more of the fierceneſs and impetuoſity of youth, then of the Sage and orderly conduct of a skillful politician. And they may ſeem to ſpeak truly (if their examination of the paſſages be only ſuperficial and ſlight) and the Objection appear equitable; And then (conſequently) that I could not handſomely range this illuſtrious Prince amongſt thoſe who have exactly followed the Precepts and Rules of true policy, which is the Miſtriſs that guideth Royal affairs with leaſt danger. What State-prudence (will ſome Politician object) counſelled this young Monarch to ſpeak to his Subjects ſo high, when he was ſo low; and having ſcarſe got well on horſeback, thus to ſalute his Subjects, who had their Arms in their hands? Rebels, Subjects, who had lately tumbled his Father from the Throne; who had torn the Crown from off his ſacred head, changed his Scepter into Chaines, and his Palace into a Priſon? might not this bold entrance to the Throne have rather provoked them to deſperation then obedience? and raiſed a new tempeſt which could not be appeaſed, without much difficulty? might not this noiſe have ſerved to awaken them to freſh jealouſies and feares, which their own prudence ſhould have taught them? Certainly this objection (at firſt view) ſeems invincible, that* Lewis *did not appear ſo diſcreet and judicious as his condition required: And that I was little leſs, who preſumed to rank & reckon this Prince amongſt thoſe, who had exactly learned the Art of Reigning over a Kingdom. Notwithſtanding, he failed not in his Kingly craft, and (if my reaſon deceive me not) I am not guilty of any miſtake in this deciſion; for whoſoever ſhall examin this great Action from the bottom, and weigh the Arguments maturely, will be convinced of this opinion, and neither condemn my judgment, nor the Reſolution of* Lewis *in this eminent Action. The Counſells of Prudence prove different according to ſeveral conjunctures of occaſions, and ought to change their countenances according to the preſent diverſities, and important alterations of affairs. And, as hardy and bold reſolutions are not always ſeaſonable, ſo neither are timorous and fearful proceedings ever wiſe and ſafe; That Politician who trembles, and is not confident; who dares do nothing generouſly and ſtoutly for fear he may prove too raſh and inconſiderate, ſhall be ſeldom fortunate; he is too ſpeculative a Contemplator, and proves rarely quick and active. And whiles he amuſeth himſelf with curious conſiderations whether he ſhould, or ſhould not undertake the enterprize, whether he ſhould ſpeak or be ſilent, be an induſtrious actor, or a dull phlegmatique Spectator; The opportunity (by this time) may be well loſt, the Starrs change their ſcituations, Aſpects alter, and ſo the fatal moment whereon depended the good or ill ſucceſs of a grand deſign ſlip clean away without advantage. That Philoſopher (whom ſome cenſured a over-wiſe) found that his tedious doating on too much conſideration brought forth no fruit, but folly; and that his moſt ſubtile*

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concluſions, were no better then fancies and Dreams of one newly awaked out of ſleep, The Augurs telling an old Captain that the Pullets would not eat; he quickly diſcern'd the myſtery, and anſwered, If they would not eat except they drank, they ſhould have their fill, and ſo caus'd them to be flung into the Sea; at which ſummons he gave battail to his Enemies and gain'd the day. An old Souldier told his General, the Enemies were twenty times more then they; but he replyed gallantly; And for how many doſt then account me? Another told his General that the Enemy darted Arrowes like ſhowres of Hail; he replyed inſtantly, tis ſo much the better for us, we ſhall fight againſt empty quivers, and but ſhadowes of men. The Policy of high born Heroes, and low hearted Peaſants is not the ſame. The Mariners diſpute in one faſhion aboard their Ships, and the Commanders and Souldiers after another in their Trenches. And as theſe perſons are very diſtinct, and different in their qualities, ſo are they in their Counſels, and Agitations. Thoſe who walk on dangerous Precipices, ought to march boldly, if they intend to paſs ſecurely, And in thoſe Attempts, he who ſtays to meaſure the depth of peril in his way, either will prove ſo fearful as not to adventure; or elſe will will be in great danger of a ruinous fall. To judge then of the Action of Lewis *the Fourth, a man ought to conſider what this Prince preponderated, how his Fathers gentleneſs and civility was his ruin: That he ſpoke to the ſame Rebels who had raviſht his Fathers Crown from his head, and depriv'd his perſon of his liberty: And that by the ſame capricious humour they recall'd the Son who had deſtroy'd the Father; and leſt that might ranckle and ſwell again, and ſo infect and deſtroy the Son as it had the Father, it concern'd him then to let them know, that he came now to inherit his Fathers Kingdom, and not his infirmities. That though firſt impreſſions may exchange or obliterate ill humours, yet it is with great hazard and difficulty. Wherefore it was more important to his purpoſe to ſtrike deeper at the root at firſt, to gain better advantages. If* Lewis *his feet had been ſeen to tremble when he was to aſcend the throne, he muſt then have diſcovered a capacity to fall again. If he had received the Crown with a dull and phlegmatick deportment, he had been rather made a King by his Lords and Maſters then his Subjects; and he would have unfolded to his People the paſſion of cowardly fear, rather then have procured due regard from them. We may conclude then, that this Prince was wiſe, in being ſtout and gallant in this occaſion; that his Policy was not indiſcreet, and (coping with Souldiers, and men of Armes and Valour) his diſcourſe was not improper, as containing nothing that might give the ſhock to Soveraign prudence; but rather on the contrary what well became the Grandeur, and Majeſty of a King. Yet perhaps ſome will ſay unto me, ſuch harſh and rigorous proceedings have not always had the beſt ſucceſs; if* Cæſar *had well obſerved the predictions of his death, if he had better regarded his words, who anſwered him, That the Ides of* March *could not paſs, and were not yet come: If he had read the Note preſented to him as he entered into the Senate, it is to be preſumed he had not been ſtabbed. If the Duke of* Guiſe *inſtead of an haughty reply to what he found under his Napkin, had ſpeedily taken poſt, and fled from* Blois, *he had not ſatisfied the States General with his own Ruine, nor ſigned his death at* Cuyere *with his own blood. All this is true, I muſt needs confeſs: But ſuppoſe it ſo happens once, it is not neceſſary that it prove ſo always: And it is more perillous to be ſtupidly ſilent, then to diſcourſe heroichly, for ſuch reaſons chiefly which I formerly mentioned. He declared his courage, and his conſtancy: And* Lewis *did nothing in this conjuncture but what well became a truly noble,*

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and wiſe Prince. Nor did this glorious action relliſh of any thing but what beſeemed an Illuſtrious Hero, *and a prudent* Politician: *O, that Kings would more obſervantly regard the infuſions and motions of their Tutelary Angels, who guard their Kingdoms, and not incline, nor liſten to* Paraſites *and* Flatterers, *who divert their good diſpoſitions by the inſinuations of perfidious, and pernitious Counſels. This truth found a great example in the perſon of* Mathias Corvin, *that famous King of* Hungarie, *whoſe name was Illuſtrious through all the Earth, in ſo much that he aſcended to ſuch a height, that his renown cannot but be derived to poſterity with much honour and glory. The* Venetians *were formerly in league with the* Turks *againſt the* Hungarians: *they aided them to the ruin of that Kingdom, and reduced that Country almoſt to a deſolation. And having been the cauſe of the death of two of their Kings, of which the grand* Hunniades, *Father of* Mathias *was the laſt; yet notwithſtanding (ſeeing themſelves afterwards all in flames by the Turks their Allies, and ready to be conſumed by a bloody War) They ſent Ambaſſadors to* Hungary, *to implore ſuccours from this famous* Mathias Corvin, *who after he had afforded them an Honourable Audience, anſwered them ſpeedily after this ſort.*

MATHIAS CORVIN *to the* Embaſſadors *of the* Republick *of* VENICE.

IF the Habits you wear, and the Language you ſpeak, did not convince me that you were *Venetians*, I could hardly believe that you were Ambaſſadors ſent from that Country. And if the Robes I carry, and my Accents did not clearly aſſure you that I am *King* of *Hungary*, I believe you would take me for ſome other; and that all that you have diſcourſed had not been addreſt to me: For what pretence can you have to dream of the effect of your deſire, and expectation, after ſo great an affront and injury, as we have received from you? And if ye had no juſt cauſe to hope (as without doubt, ye had not) why hath your Senate ſent you on an Embaſſy ſo unprofitable? Truly the great reputation which your prudent conduct of Affairs hath gained you, ſeemes ſtrongly founded: And the flouriſhing eſtate of your Illuſtrious Republick, which hath been known through ſo many Ages to have preſerved her glory, and grandeur, is an undoubted argument of your great abilities in ſuch weighty matters. Notwithſtanding I am obliged to let you know (on this occaſion) that though you ſeem to abound in judgement, yet you ſeem to be but of a ſhort and failing memory. Conſider (I ſay) former paſſages, and the requeſt you make this day: Is it poſſible that you ſhould have intirely loſt the remembrance of that miſerable eſtate out of which this Kingdom is hardly as yet recovered? and that ignoble denial which your Republique made *Uladiſlaus* my Predeceſſor? The great Storm and Tempeſt which was raiſed at *Conſtantinople*, and deſigned to fall on *Hungarie*, was taken notice of, and talked of in all Countries; and the formi-

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dable power of the Turks, as a ſwelling Inundation, threatned to overflow, and drown whole Provinces. The Turk armed *Affrica*, a great part of *Aſia*, and of *Europe* againſt us, and it appeared very probable that we ſhould have been ſwallowed up under the numbers of thoſe great Forces, ſo prodigious, and unequal to ours. *Hungary* having been as the Buckler to all Chriſtendom, and an impregnable wall, which was continually battered, and daſhed againſt, by the ſavage Waves of this unruly Torrent: This inſatiable Uſurper ſwore ſolemnly to rend this Buckler into ſhivers, and to level this Rampart to the ground, which had ever reſiſted the violence of his Inundations. In this miſchievous conjuncture, the young, and valiant *Vladiſlaus* let ſlip no advantage that might fortifie and ſtrengthen his party, to preſerve them from periſhing and ruine. And as he knew how, that beſides the Intereſt in general, of all the Chriſtians in this publick affair, you had particular cauſe in reſpect of *Friuli*, which you were Lords of in the Main Continent, and the Iſles which you poſſeſſed in the *Archipelagus*, he made and raiſed his Forces to greater ſtrength and magnitude, to oblige you the rather to make a League with him, both Offenſive, and Defenſive, againſt this irreconcileable Enemy. To this purpoſe he diſpatched his Embaſſadors to you to *Venice*, and by them repreſented to the Senate, what that Republique owed to the honour and name of Chriſtians, and put them in mind of the ancient Alliance and Amitie betwixt the Crown of *Hungary* and that State. The Pope (*as a common Father to the Chriſtians*) joyned his importunities with our requeſts, and uſed all endeavours to perſwade you to a thing in which you had (certainly) no leſs intereſt then we our ſelves: And to the undertaking of which, Virtue, and Equity ſeemed naturally to oblige, and enjoyn aſſiſtance. Notwithſtanding the force of all perſwaſions, and endeavours, we prevailed not, but adviſed, and treated in vain, and you had the hard heartedneſs neither to liſten to our Counſels, nor regard our Remonſtrances, and ſo refuſed abſolutely to aid us with thoſe Succors, or Auxiliaries we deſired, as neceſſary, and with which we had ſo much reaſon to hope to be ſupplyed. The excuſe which you alleaged was, *That it was neither fair, nor juſt to declare againſt a Prince who had not injur'd you*; and that you were not obliged to that. Nay, your cruel policy was not contained in theſe termes and bounds, a bare *Neutrality* was not ſufficient for you to ſecure your own ſafeties. Nor did it ſuffice you to be meer ſpectators of our miſeries, but you were willing to augment them. If ſo be that you had neither declared for the one nor the other, probably your Forces might have given at leaſt a ſuſpition to the *Turk*, and poſſibly cauſed his Armies to have Marched more ſlowly, in a deſigne of ſuch high importance. But inſtead of an act of ſuch a nature, you made an infamous and horrid *Alliance* at that time, and utterly to remove away all ſuſpitions and jealouſies, that he might not dread your Forces, you let him ſee your fears, you ſignified to him, that we were not in hopes of aſſiſtance of any perſon. In brief, you (as much as in you lay) expoſed us to their rage and fury, and to the eminent peril of all misfortunes, or (to ſpeak freely) not only *Hungary*, but all Chriſtendom, and your very ſelves alſo. Now to what a height of Miſeries your forſaking us hath brought us, and what ſad events this unfortunate Warre hath produced,

which we alone were forced to encounter, You (*Venetians*) well knew; and all the Earth is full of the reports of our miſeries, though we (of all others) more ſenſibly find, and feel the ſad effects; ſince the wounds which we received, yet bleed a freſh, and time hath not had days and years enough to obliterate the memory, nor to obumbrate and deface the repreſentation and ghaſtly ſight of thoſe evil, and miſchievous Conjunctures: It ſo happened then with forces ſo unequal, and through the inconſiderate Counſels of perfidious flatterers, that the brave, yet unfortunate *Vladiſlaus* loſt two Battailes on the other ſide of the River *Danubius*; where an infinite number of Souldiers and perſons of great Condition were ſlain, or made ſlaves in the battail which was loſt, in the plains of *Varne*, and after that in the Battail of *Coſobe*, in the Country of the *Trebelliens*. It fell out alſo that Valiant *Vdaliſlaus* loſt his life fighting magnanimouſly: And theſe two Plaines were covered with the blood of Chriſtians: At which time the whole Kingdom was filled with horror and confuſion, many thouſands were made poor Widdowes, which have ſighed out their Prayers, and ſent their cryes to Heaven againſt you, in regard of the loſs of their dear Husbands; thouſands of Orphans cry for their Fathers, and Fathers for their ſlain Children. And it might have ſo fallen out, that all Chriſtendom had been in hazard and danger to have been ſwallowed up, if the bounty and favour of God, (which much exceeded the horror of your crime) provoked with jealouſie for the defence of his own Altars, for his own Glory, and for the protection of the name of Chriſtian had not raiſed up the invincible *Hunniades* my Soveraign King and Father. But alas, theſe misfortunes which attended us with ſuch horror and cruelty, were not alone; other ſad effects and dangerous conſequences ſucceeded in the midſt of thoſe great loſſes. I ſuſtained the chiefeſt in mine own particular; ſo that the Honour of that Scepter I bear, and that Crown I enjoy, are not able to poize my grief with equal conſolation of glory and renown. Shall I tell you; or am I able to ſpeak? or be ſilent on this Subject? The great and invincible *Hunniades* hath loſt his own life by thoſe glorious wounds which he received in that unhappy Warre, wherein you were ambitious ſpectators. He repelled the *Turks* a hundred times with his Victorious ſword, but at laſt not able longer to reſiſt the ſlaſhes of their Symetars, he died with thoſe fatal ſtrokes. Victory attended him a thouſand times, but at length (alas!) ſhe forſook her Champion. He was a long time a Rampart to Chriſtianity, but in the end that Bulwark was levelled as ſtrong as it appeared. He Combated, Vanquiſhed, and Triumphed; yet after ſo many Conqueſts he was forced to ſubmit to fortune. He met with a good hour to aſcend a Throne, but that high ſtep was but a ſtair to deſcend to an humble Tomb. He made himſelf a King with his nobleneſs and Valour, but he ceaſed to be a man by the unworthy Cowardize of thoſe that forſook him. He obtained immortal honor, but (alas!) he came not to this immortality, But at his death. To conclude, *Hungary* loſt her King, *Chriſtianity* loſt her Protector, *Europe* loſt her moſt glorious Jewel, and *Mathias* (from whom you now implore aſſiſtance) loſt his Soveraign and Father. Judge then, you *Venetians* (if you have not utterly loſt the memory of my great loſſes, and your own inhumanity) whether you have any cauſe to hope for ſuccour from me as

you

you now desire. Consider if you have not ground to believe that the blood of a Father (such a Father as *Hunniades*) be not more loud then you, and more perswasive then your eloquent Oration. Oh! if the Lawes of Nations were not inviolable betwixt *Princes*, who make profession of Honor and Faith; If the persons of *Embassadors* were not sacred amidst the most barbarous and least civilized people; The impudency which you have made appear in your discourse and requests, might justly hazard your safety; your fears might cause you to tremble, and make you dispair of my Clemency, which finds much difficulty to with-hold from revenge. But as you are *Embassadors*, you are in a Sanctuary which covers your heads from the just rage of indignation: Yet since Vengeance belongs to God, who knows how and when to exercise it; And that there is none but *he who punisheth the Children for the iniquity of their Fathers to the third Generation.* Seeing also that time hath closed up that wound which you have thought to open, and that which is the end of all things, hath calmed my displeasure, and removed the Gall of my resentment; we will not raise those appeased Waves, but letting the Tempest and the winds sleep, we will examine without Rancour or Passion former passages, and so judge better of what you now desire, viewing with a disinteressed eye the injustice of mine own reproaches, and of your unworthy Actions. It is certain (and experience of all ages doth teach and shew) That next to the immediate Power of *Almighty God*) this great and marvellous Frame of the Universe, knows no other motives to set and put all her rational desires into action, then those three Grand Engines of *Jucundum, Honestum*, and *Utile*. And how different soever mens intentions may be, it must necessarily follow that their thoughts tend to one of these three. Seeing then from the lowest to the highest condition of men, all do operate upon one of these Principles, and that no design hath its original from any other motive; seeing all degrees of men, and orders of Creatures, Rational or Irrational propose these as their chiefest ends, (as the Voluptuous designe their pleasure, the Ambitious their Glory, the Covetous their treasure) Let us see by which of these three motives your mercilesse *Republique* could be obliged to such unnatural proceedings towards us, and to be so full of inhumanity (in so great a danger) to refuse us. For the first; What appearance was there, that a people, Friends to *Europe*, a people civilized, and professing *Christianity*, could be so barbarous as to take pleasure in the delolation of our *Provinces*, and the ruin of our *Towns*? in the prophaning of our *Temples*? the defeates of our *Armies*? and the murthering of our Souldiers? What? was prey and Pillage, Fire and sword, teares and blood, wounds and death, pleasant Objects for your diversions? Could you take delight in ugly and extravagant pleasure? in things capable to strike horror and pitty in the most insensible Souls? the Mountains of men slain, and the Earth covered with wounded bodies, old men pulled by their beards and hair, and stabbed before their Children, Infants snatcht from their Mothers papps, and dashed against the walles, and mothers dragged by the hair, and so piercing the Heavens with their hidious cryes; Virgins miserably exposed to the insolency of the *Janizaries*, and the blood of grand and brave Kings powred out to the last drop, The *houses of God dishonoured*, his *Priests murthered*, *his Altars*

Altars defaced, and all thoſe ſacred things in the hands of the prophane and ſacrilegious *Turks*? Could all this, and ſuch like objects, yield you any pleaſure, and content? and could you look on all this miſery, not onely with a dry eye, but with an eye ambitious of ſuch cruelty? as pleaſed with ſuch horrid objects, and deigning ſuch miſeries no compaſſion? Do not men ſpeak of *Nero* as a Monſter of Nature, and ſhame of Mankind, who could look on *Rome* on Fire without regret and grief? You have ſeen a Kingdom on Fire without the leaſt touch of Compaſſion. And ſhall not you paſs under the cenſure of Monſters, as not worthy to behold the light, and fit to loſe that bleſſing with as much grief as ignominy? Judge your ſelves, did ever *Chriſtians* ſee their fellow *Chriſtians* periſh and moulder into crums under the *Infidels* Swords and Simeters. and become ſo perfectly inhumane, as to rejoyce at their deſolation? Did the *Italians* when they ſtormed the walls of the *Leſtrigoes*, and the *Cannibals*, and (as it were) eat thoſe Men-eaters (or at leaſt ſaw them torn, and rent in pieces) find any content in ſuch objects of miſery which they were forced to make? No, no, as barbarous as you have been, and as extreamly rigorous as we judge you, we ſhall not believe that men, that *Venetians*, that *Chriſtians* could laugh at our Tears, bathe themſelves, in our blood, and rejoyce at our diſgrace. Thoſe that are uncapable of committing ſuch grand offences, cannot but think they may receive ayd from others, and their innocency makes them judge of others by themſelves; nothing being able to incline their judgments contrary to thoſe natural inclinations upon which they are founded; we cannot believe then that it was *Jucundum quid*, a delectable object which you propoſed in refuſing your aſſiſtance, and ſo expoſing us to the *barbarous Mahometans*; it being far from all appearance that you ſhould conceive a thought, or find any pleaſantneſs in things ſo contrary to humanity, and directly oppoſite to all that may pretend to give any joyful content or pleaſant ſatisfaction. Seeing then, that *Jucundum quid* was not the object that united you, let us examine if it were *Honeſtum*, honourable for you to act as you did; and if it were by this motive, that you would expoſe us as a prey to the rage of the *Turks*, and that you thruſt all *Hungary*, and all *Chriſtendom* on ſuch a precipice of danger; and (if I may ſo ſay) within two fingers bredth of an univerſal ruin. Thoſe who have moſt ſeriouſly examined the conſiſtance of the true glory of *Princes*, having diſcuſſed the queſtion ſo many ſeveral wayes, and well obſerved the biaſſes of different intereſts, have all agreed in this, that it conſiſts principally in this Maxime, *To protect the more feeble, and to reſiſt the more puiſſant.* Yea it is in this alone, wherein conſiſts true generoſity. It is in this diſintereſted virtue, wherein Princes do find their greateſt ſplendor. It is this unſpotted reputation which they ought to endeavour all their life. A beam of true honor, and which they ought to preſer above that of their *Scepter* and *Crown*. In effect, all their other actions (how glorious and beautiful ſoever they appear in the eyes of the world) may meet with an ill conſtruction, and without this receive an inglorious interpretation. *Conquerors* may be deemed to be ambitious, *Peacemakers* may be cenſured to be timid, Severe *Princes* paſs for cruel, *Clement* may be ſuſpected to be feeble, *Liberal* accuſed to be prodigalls, *Provident* accounted covetous, *Valiant* ſtiled raſh, and the *Prudent*

Lazy,

Lazy. The Majeſty of Princes may be cenſured Pride, their Facility Baſeneſs: If they are too grave, the people will not love them: If too familiar, their Subjects ſcorn them; If gay and glorious, they are reviled as incompaſſionate; if Melancholy, then nothing will oblige them; If Prudent, then too full of craft and ſubtilty; If Frank and Ingenious, then imprudent and indiſcreet. In a word, all their thoughts, words, and actions are ſubject to receive an evil interpretation from the envie and malice of men. There is nothing then but the protection of the feeble (when it is offered) being free, and without private intereſt, which hath no cauſe for an Apology: And there is nothing more truly noble then this generous reſiſtance, which (oppoſing over-powerful enemies) is rewarded with general approbation: And in a deſign of this nature there needs no Reaſons or Manifeſtoes to authorize the Armies of ſuch illuſtrious Captaines. The thing ſpeaks it ſelf, each oppreſſed ſoul implores aid from heaven upon Auxiliary Troops. And their high enterpriſes are not condemned of any perſon, no not of their very enemies. The publick vogue of the people gives to ſuch generous *Princes* the glorious titles of the *Defenders of their Liberties, the Protectors of their Innocency, the Supporters of tottering Thrones, the Reſtorers of Eſtates, & the Scourge of Tyrants.* Poſterity preſerves their names, and reverences their memories, as things which virtue hath conſecrated, and never ought to periſh: The *Marble* is poliſht, and engraved to eternize their glory; Bookes and Hiſtories (of all Nations) ſpeak of them in their own Languages; Fathers tell their Children, and Children parttle, and after talk to their Poſterity: And ſo by this immortal and glorious Tradition, the honor and reputation of virtuous Princes paſſeth from Age to Age, to eternize their Fame over all the World. And if ever any *Senate* found favourable opportunity, that of yours might have ſeaſonably afforded us protection which we ſo earneſtly demanded, and you ſo cruelly refuſed: We were weak, our Enemies were puiſſant; they were the *Invaders*, we the *Defenders* of our Rights; they would have uſurped our Kingdom, we ſtrove to defend our Country; they had no right in their pretenſions, and we no injuſtice in our Defence: What ſhall I ſay more? They were *Turks*, and we *Chriſtians*; they were ancient and natural *Enemies*, we your *Friends*, *Allies*, and *Brothers*: And above all (as I ſaid before) they were ſtrong and puiſſant, we weak and feeble; which argument was ſufficient to have obtained your Protection, if you had been truly Noble, and had aſpired to true glory. And what honor could you ever have obtained ſo great as that? to have oppoſed and ſuppreſſed vigorouſly this torrent, and to have extinguiſhed the violence of Fire and Sword, which came to ravage *two Empires*, and *ten Kingdomes*? What a glory would it have been to you to have arreſted their Force, and to have got Victories from that Monſter who overthrew the Throne of *Conſtantine* the great, and extinguiſhed the Race of the Noble *Palehogus*? What Reputation had you not gained in revenging new *Rome*, and the Inſolencies of theſe Barbars? and what eſtimation had you not deſerved in the ſupport of our weak condition againſt ſo great an Enemy? To oppoſe thoſe that do evil, and to defend thoſe which ſuffer, is a Leſſon which Nature it ſelf inſpires, and is taught without a Tutor. And (if Paſſions blind us not, nor diſorder Natures conduct) *It is*

impoſſible to thoſe who are nobly born, not to range themſelves on the weaker ſide, and not to oppoſe the unjuſt Violence of oppreſſors. A natural inſtinct preſſeth us, compaſſion forceth us, reaſon leadeth us, and (as we apprehend in our ſelves) ſuch an Action of incompaſſion would ſeem very rude. And humanity directeth us, that we could not endure that ignobleneſs in an other. Certainly they are not men, but cold ſtatues, and ſuch as the frozen hearted *Venetians*, who ſtand ſtill in ſuch a Rencounter without motion and action: They deſerve not the names of men, who can be inſenſible in ſuch conjunctures; and he ſeems not a rational ſoul, nor ſcarce a meer *Animal*, but a ſenſeleſs ſtone, who can refuſe ſuccour to the oppreſſed when they implore, and are in neceſſity. If it be a ſhame to refuſe aſſiſtance when men are implored, and not to oppoſe the injuſtice of them who oppreſs; how much more ſhameful is it then, not only to ſee the feeble periſh, not only to deny them ſuccours, not only to reſiſt their violence, who devour them, but rather to ſtrengthen the oppreſſors, and (cowardly) to joyn themſelves to them who were too ſtrong alone? Oh (*Venetians*) there hath been too much of baſeneſs and inhumanity in theſe ignoble proceedings: and this action hath been very black and fowle, reliſhing of as little honor and honeſty as delight and pleaſure, unworthy to have engaged you in ſuch an enterprize; which being utterly incapable to render you any glory, will eternally cover you with the Clouds of *Reproach* and *infamy*. For if you were our Enemies, why did you not publiquely declare and tell us, as the *Turks* did? and if you were our Friends, why did you joyn with the *Barbars*, and ſo aid them to ruin us? No, No, true honor was not the object of ſo baſe and black an Action, nor could true content or ſatisfaction be enjoyed in an enterprize ſo bloody and cruel. Seeing then that your undertakings were neither founded on that which may be rightly judged *Jucundum* or *Honeſtum*, let us ſee if *Utile*, profit, and avarice hath obliged you to a cowardly acquitting of your *Allies*. When that Maxime proves true which is ever falſe: That *Kings*, *Soveraign Princes* and *Republicks*, ought not abſolutely to conſider any thing but the repoſe of their own eſtates, and their particular utility: When (I ſay) natural equity, civil ſociety, the Alliances of *Crowns*, the Conformity of *Religions*, Common intereſt, Glory and Honor, ſhall be valued as things indifferent: Yet you ſhall not find really the *Utile* you may pretend to in this unworthy Action, wherein you appeared. Is there any one who knowes the principles of *Policy*, and of that art which teacheth *Kings* to Raign? and underſtands not, that a powerful neighbour is ever terrible? That it is very advantagious, that Seas and Mountaines ſeparate their eſtates from ours; To that end, That both the one and the other may be as bounds to reſiſt their avarice and ambition? and if a Prince leſs powerful then he, both in reſpect of the numbers of his Subjects, and in the extent of his Dominions, lye in the way as a guard to our Frontires, and be ſcituate in the midſt of two Potentates as an eternal obſtacle to the unjuſt *Uſurpation* both of the one and the other; is there not a clearer poſſibility of ſecurity? Were it not much better for the *Republique* of *Venice*, that the *Thrones* of the *Kings* of *Hungary* ſhall not be toucht or ſhaken, and that the Valour of thoſe *Princes* ſhall be able to protect the Country: Then to ſee thoſe *Dominions* invironed with *Janizaries*, and the Colours of

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Mahomets Crescents Flourishing amidst the standards of Saint *Marke*? Know you not that their very neighbourhood hath begot an eternal jealousie? And that jealousie of a Rival (so prevalent and too prevent for us) may possess us with fears? Do you not consider how that such an irreconcileable Enemy will never want pretexts to demand? And that success will dayly feed new expectations; Finding fortune so favourable, our resistance so weak, and our loss so infinite? Will such accesses tempt a Soul more moderate then such a one as lodgeth in a *Mahometans* breast? Do you not discern that the formidable power of the *Ottomans* is like unto a contagious disease, which is best prevented or healed at a distance? Can you *Venetians* believe that the *Turks* should prove better neighbours then the Christians? And that the Policy of the *Alcoran* is more perswasive then the Moralls of the Gospel? Have you not experienced that antient Friends make more firm Amity then new? And how that the body politique is like the body natural, in which every mutation proves dangerous? Do you not find that the ambition of Conquerors is like the Waves of the Vast Ocean, which is neither willingly limitted with Bancks nor Bottome? And that the ambition of *Mahomet* the second runns as a devouring Fire, which haftens to consume so many Empires, and so many Kingdomes? What security then can you have in the amity of a Prince of so haughty an humor? And what great advantage can you gain by this new Alliance, to ingage you to such Obligations? Can you hope that this proud *Turk* can admit you to share in his Conquests? Can you pretend to expect a proportion in the spoiles of *Hungary*? Do you not know that the Warres of Nations Civilized, are waged chiefly for the obtaining of Glory and true Renown? And how the Warrs of *Barbarous* Nations are raised in a design of Pillage and Plunder? As the sole mark of their enterprizes, and object of their Armies, who in their Conquests regard not the auxiliaries of their Victory? and those whose ambition is insatiable, find all too little to satisfie themselves, having no thoughts of contenting others? Who knows not that avarice as well as ambition, and Cruelty, carries on the *Turks* with a predominant inclination? that that Nation never acts by any other Principle? And who can be ignorant, but that your new Allies will (at length) leave you in the lurch? On the the other side, In the Condition wherein *Hungary* and *Christendome* then were, might not *Mahomet* the second easily discern that you joyned your forces unto him out of a particular interest; And therein rather sought your own safety then his glory? That you left us, to preserve your selves? And that you begged his amity, to avoid his wrath? that base feares made your progress, and not true Friendship or love? That (in truth, and purely) you only regarded your own advantage, and therefore made a shameful alliance, with one, whom you as much hated as feared? What Obligation can be strong in a matter of this nature? and what reason have you to hope for any thing under the pretence of such a favour? Moreover, when he shall observe how cruelly you have forsaken (and that in extremity) your antient Allies, your neighbours, and your brethren, connected to you by the Ligaments of the same Religion, Lawes and Manners, what assurance can you fancy that *Mahomet* shall have in your promises, having seen you violate such sacred Obligations. And what credit

credit shall he give unto your words, having known you so notoriously to forfeit your Faith? We may add yet, if that which ratifieth treaties, renders alliances assured, and peace durable, is, That treaties, Alliances, and Peaces, are equally advantageous to Kings, Soveraigns, Princes or Republicks, Who make them because that equality is necessary, and reciprocal advantages oblige the one and the other to an exact observation of the Articles concluded betwixt them; What proportion then of equality can there be between the Republick of *Venice*, and the Vast Empire of *Turkie*? What advantage can the *Turks* receive from your feeble Troops, who is a Conqueror attended with so many Millions of Souldiers? What profit think you to gain from him who swallowes Scepters and Crownes as little morsells? Who depopulates more Kingdomes and Empires then you have Townes in your Dominions? Whose formidable Armies cover the largest Campaines, and traversing the mighty Plaines, drink up whole Rivers where they are encamped? Is not this your alliance as the oblation of a shallow Brook to the Ocean, when you joyn your slender Troopes to his mighty Armies? and is not this a signal error, to dream that your handful of Forces should be considerable amongst such infinite numbers? Can you believe that *Mahomet* should religiously observe Articles of confederation, wherein he could find neither the increase of his profit or glory? To add nothing else from the dangerous example that you (*Venetians*) have given him; what alliances may not the *Turk* violate without all scruple? Is it possible that the History of the *Turks* is so utterly a stranger to you, that you know not how that impious and barbarous Nation make publick profession of infidelity, any how they frame to themselves such maxims, that, it is lawful for them to break all Articles of what condition soever? to recede from and Oaths, and to violate Faith and all ingagements? and to jeere at the Lawes and rights of Nations? Have you never heard them call the Christians, *Jaours*, that is, Doggs? and from that injury raise an argument, and consequently conclude that they are not obliged to keep their words with doggs? Do they not barbarously break Faith and promises with those of their own Nation, as well as with their Enemies? How perfidious was *Baiazet*, who, after the death of his Father, sent to seek for *Solyman* his elder Brother, upon pretence of a desire to have him Crowned; And having abused the facility of that Prince, caused him inhumanely to be strangled, and so introduced a barbarous example into the Family of the *Ottomans*, which hath been but too often imitated since that horrid president? *Orchan* the second, Emperor of the *Turks*, feigned an agreement with some Princes of *Asia*, thereby more easily to delude some others; And after he had devoured his first Contractors, with less difficulty destroyed the others according to the Stratagems of his own devices. Did you never read (in the *Roman* History) the remarkable Embleme of the bundle of arrowes? which bound up together were not easily broken, but taken asunder, each single arrow was frangible by the weakest arm? Have you been so little conversant in the terrestrial Globe, that ye knew not your selves heretofore too near neighbours to that Prince on the Coast of the *Archipelagus*; But that you must likewise desire to border upon *Friuli* and *Dalmatia*? the Fountaines and the Rivers which divide themselves into lesser streames, are not much considerable.

ſiderable: But united into one great body, they compoſe and make up an Ocean which may terrifie the boldeſt adventurers. You may conclude, that if Chriſtian Princes and Republiques held a Faithful Correſpondency and firm Union, both the one and the other might without doubt reſiſt the Turkiſh Power, and ſtop the progreſs of his dangerous Conqueſts, with great facility: But when we ſee the Chriſtians themſelves divided, this potent Enemy may with more eaſe deſtroy them all, ſingling out each Kingdom or Republick apart, Oh, you *Venetians*, none of theſe juſt conſiderations have prevailed to perſwade you, being tranſported with the Violence of particular Intereſts. The preſent condition of affaires was more Prevalent with you then to admit a Prævifion of future dangers: and your Cæcity was ſo great, that you have deſparately caſt your ſelves into an Abyſſe; thinking thereby to avoid a precipice. Obſerve then the Juſtice of God upon the heads of the offenders. They (on the grounds of falſhood and imprudence) Contriving vainly to preſerve themſelves from one peril, have caſt themſelves headlong into another; Their impious craft ſeducing them to deceive others, deluded themſelves. Their ſubtile policy ſeemed to teach them perfectly the art of Government, when the events diſcover'd the errors of their maximes. It is true then (as the Scripture witneſſeth) *that God infatuateth the wicked in their own deſignes, and diſperſeth them as a Cloud, and cauſeth them to Vaniſh as ſmoake.* By all that I have ſaid, it appears thereby, that *Jucundum, Honeſtum*, and *Utile*, were not the arguments which perſwaded you to this Savage action. I may rightly conclude then, that by a meer inclination to an evil end, you were willing to deſtroy us, and have found a Malignant rejoycing in our ſorrowes without the Knowledge of that wherein conſiſts true joy. Why was this evil undertaken by you; Unleſs you had been born to do no good? But ſeeing this excuſe is not ſufficient for rational men, who act not as beaſts, but according to reaſon and election of what they voluntarily chooſe, equally inclined to good or evil, Vice, or Virtue: Are not we in a juſt expectation of a Viciſſitude, and Change; that Vindicative Juſtice may recompence all your evills? We well underſtand that Martial Lawes admit Letters of Reprizal; the moſt rigorous of the moraliſts, allow us to reſiſt Invaders, to defend us from their Violence, and to repel their Forces; And if the Law of God ordained *an eye for an eye, and life for life* in the puniſhment of Crimes, ought not we imitate your ſelves, ſeeing the day is changed, and affaires have a better preſence? May not we now go and contract an aliance with *Mahomet* the Second, and refuſe to aid you, who denyed ſuccours firſt to us? Might not we joyn our Forces with his, giving him aſſiſtance with our Counſells and Souldiers, whereby we might impower him to ravage your Frontiers, defeat your Armies, ſtorm your ſtrongeſt Townes, inſlave your Generalls, chaſe you not only from the main Continent, but even from all the Iſles you hold in the *Archipelagus*? This favourable Conjuncture may afford us an obligation to mix our Colours with his Enſigns, and ſo magnanimouſly march againſt that ſuperb Town, and thoſe aſpiring Ramparts which obumbrate the Adriatique Sea, and command imperially all the adjacent ſhores. Yes (without doubt) we are obliged: and as far as humane reaſon can reach to judg, in the freſh memory of your greater cruelty, you me-

rit to be deſtroyed, and we revenged, and *Venice* deſerves to be inſlaved and chaſtiſed ſeverely, as a ſpectacle to all ages to come; to teach all Republicks not to refuſe, ſo barbarouſly, and cowardly, their aſſiſtance to their ancient Allies. We might liſten now to theſe ſweet temptations, and chiefly to that to which the greateſt Souls are moſt inclin'd, *Haughty and pleaſant Revenge.* The occaſion is now favourable: And Fortune ſeems to anſwer us with plenary ſatisfaction: You have refuſed your ſuccours, we may then juſtly deny ours: You have made Alliance with our Enemy, we may (as juſtly) do the like with yours: You joyned your Troops with his, we may as equally joyn our Armies: You aided him to our deſeat, we can aid him to your utter ruin: You thought you could deſtroy our Kingdom, we are aſſured we could make your Republick a deſolation: You have been the cauſe of the ſad death of two of our Kings, and we are able (if we pleaſe) to ſacrifice upon their Tombes your Duke and Senators: You aided our Enemy to rout our Armies on the Plains of *Varney* and *Coſoba*, we are able to demoliſh your high Walls, to burn your fair City, and to force you to fly into the ſame Rocks and Caves where your Anceſtors did hide themſelves to lie more ſecure from the violence of the *Hunnes*: Yes (*Venetians*) we can do this, nay in ſome ſort we ought; but God is pleaſed to moderate our wills. That which you have done heretofore ſtrikes us with ſuch horror, that we cannot imitate you: If you can forget that we are men, yet we cannot forget that you are Chriſtians. He who pleaſed to command us *to love our Enemies*, cannot but approve us in pardoning our Allies, how criminous ſoever they have been. Seeing then (to make relation of affairs as they are) we have an opportunity of Revenge, what can be more Illuſtrious to the greateſt ſpirits, then to ſee thoſe who have offended them, reduced to a ſharp neceſſity, and become humble Petitioners? This ſufficeth (*Venetians*) and is enough to cauſe us to lay down our Armes, or rather to take them up, thereby to protect you againſt that Enemy which now aſſaults you. We do not deſire your blood to waſh away your crimes, your tears ſhall ſerve to expiate. Thoſe two great Princes which your rigour haſtened to Heaven, and layd in their Tombes, will not condemn our Clemency, who, though they have loſt their Terreſtrial Crowns, yet parted with them to become glorious Martyrs; an honor more precious then all earthly glory: Who, as they are in the ſtate of Immortality, have no thoughts of Revenge: And it cannot but agree with their Celeſtial Judgment to be leaſt Vindicative in the way to Glory: They have poured out their blood, and loſt their lives for the good of Religion, and will approve (without queſtion) that we blot out the memory of our own miſfortunes, as well as your Errors, in relation to the welfare of the ſame Religion. Seeing therefore theſe happy Saints have received that recompence which their ſervices have purchaſed for them, and that they enjoy a felicity which ſhall never terminate, but be co-eternal with the memory of thoſe grand actions they accompliſhed: ſince they have received within the Church Triumphant thoſe glorious Palmes which their atchievements purchaſed in the Church Militant; and that they more perfectly know in God (*where all things are known*) the Juſtice of that Cauſe they defended: *That they bleſs God every moment for the wounds which they received, & the death*

they

they ſuffered for ſo good a cauſe: And ſeeing that all good is communicable in its own nature, and that they cannot but concur in approbation to what we now ſhall do in our reſolution of ſo holy and generous an ambition ſo ſuitable to Chriſtianity: We ſhall not refuſe to aid you with ſuccours, as you now do deſire, nor faile to ſupport you in ſo juſt an enterpriſe. But, on the contrary, we are ready to paſs with you over the *Danube*, nay to march before you to deſtroy the *Turkiſh* Territories, and we ſhall diſpatch one of our *Heraulds* to denounce a War againſt them, as ſoon as the Spring approacheth. We hope the iſſue will be ſucceſsful, however we ſhall not faile of our duty, and we ſhall employ all our Forces, and all that depends on us to this purpoſe. But you muſt likewiſe for your part (all the ſame time) advance to *Peloponeſus* to cauſe a diverſion, and to amuſe our enemies, being at the ſame inſtant at ſeveral places to be attempted. See (*Venetians*) what our Reſolutions are for the *Republick of Venice*, in favour to that Senate, becauſe *Chriſtian*, that is to ſay, to ſacrifice the memory of our particular injuries for the good of the general affairs, and private loſſes for publick ſafety.

The Cenſure.

THoſe who conclude that the greateſt Victories are moſt glorious, reſolve withal, That it is the hardeſt difficulty to command and conquer ones ſelf. And when a favourable occaſion is preſented of ſweet revenge: That paſſion tempteth a moderate Soul, and ſhaketh the affections of the beſt temper. *And if the means of revenge be ſo uncertain, and rare to be found, it is more incomparably difficult to refuſe the occaſion when it freely offers it ſelf. It is in this rencounter when the Spaniard makes that prayer,* Guarda me Dios de mi, *God defend me from my ſelf.* And it is truly neceſſary; for if a ſoul be not guarded with the ſhield of Virtue: It muſt (without doubt) yield in ſuch a dangerous combat. *And if any particular obſtacles prove more violent: How outragious then are the paſſions of* Princes! *And thoſe who fancy to themſelves, that they can will nothing but what they ought? And when able to act what they will, being in power, are not they moſt apt to deſtroy and ruinate thoſe who have provoked them? To reſtrain then the Thunderbolt from falling on the heads of the offenders, is ſomething Divine, or (at leaſt) above ordinary human power.* Execution belongs to the Hangman; but grace and pardon to the Gods. *And certainly the* Theory *of this ſcience is more facile then the* Practice. *Princes ſeldom forget (in ſuch affaires) that Juſtice is divided into two parts; and that part which is called Vindicative, is no whit leſs equitable then that other, becauſe it ſeems leſs human. Thoſe who ſay* they would puniſh if they were not in choler, are as rare as the Phœnix; *and Hiſtory (in general) makes no mention more of the one, then the other; that is, it ſpeaks little or nothing but of the firſt: For it is very difficult for the ſame perſon to be mild, and mighty; to be able to puniſh, and yet to pardon; to be in a capacity to revenge, and yet rather to relieve: It is very difficult, inſtead of deſtroying of an Enemy, to ſtudy, and adventure for his preſervation. From all theſe arguments we rightly underſtand how perfectly that Prince was accompliſhed, how great his Virtue,*

how

how magnificent his Generosity, of whom we have spoken. Doubtless he understood not only the Philosophy of Aristotle, *and* Seneca, *but likewise the Morals of Christianity, which (without all exception) are the most excellent and surest Foundations. He will know that the King of Kings is called* the God of Vengeance, *who reserves that punishment (primely) to himself,* as being only capable to render it without passion, and to punish without interest. *He understood that the sight of his Enemies, prostrate at his feet, was far more glorious then to see them in their Graves; and to look on them weeping with their eyes, then weltring in their blood. That to have a power to revenge is as equally satisfactory as revenge it self. Certainly with what ever eye we view this grand Action, we must conclude, that it was very Glorious; which was not as the Painters Art, who by optical delusions, change the face of things according to the diversities of several Views. But on the contrary which way soever we look, this action was* semper eadem, *and most admirable: Yet if we look into the exact rules of Policy (without any consideration to the Maxims of Religion) according to those Principles, who doubts not, but that this Prince did ill, and that his Progress herein, was more generous then prudent? He was fully satisfied that the* Turks *held not for his enemies only the* Greeks, Hungarians, *and* Venetians; *but likewise all* Christians; *and that he designed a publick ruin to them all. This moved him to a generous Consideration, and from former unkind passages to raise and accomplish future advantages; thereby avoiding to make himself a sad example to ruin his own Kingdoms, by endeavouring a revenge upon the* Venetians. *This great Prince acted as became him: In which noble work his wisedom and bounty equally proposed and obtained an immortal Commendation in the mouths of all men. There are who say* that Valour operateth in the Soul, as the heat of the Sun in Plants and other Vegetables. *For as the Sun exhaleth Poison from Hemlock and Aconite, and maketh wholsome remedies with the Virtues of other herbs; So doth Valour produce divers effects in different Souls. She makes the Lyon generous, but the Tyger cruel. I conceive we may place* Mahomet *the Second amongst the Savage Tygers both for his ferocity and rage; whose power wasted two Empires, and twenty Kingdoms, and consumed the proud infortunate City of* Constantinople; *with whose spoyles, was presented unto him a beautiful unparallell'd Lady: She used her choicest skill to please him, and he seemed to love and adore her.* (For Tygers will love, though it last not) *He treated this beauty with the variety of all delights. His courage was turned to sighs, his Valour inchanted with imbraces, which inflam'd him day and night with inextinguishable sparks of love. At last, this insolent Conqueror was vanquisht by his own slave, and was a Vassal to that lovely* Greek: *In the mean time his greedy Souldiers (fed with Prey and Pillage) began to murmur at their Emperors stupidity, and to revile him as an inglarious Commander. This Tyger (at last) awaked with the taunts and scornes of the rude multitude, and his rage being newly incensed, (shall I be able to speak, much less to believe so horrid a Fact) he tore in peices this innocent and unfortunate beauty, caused her head to be cut off with a Symeter, whom he had adored as a Goddess, and to whom he had offered the Victime of his heart a hundred times, he became strangly cruel, and with his own hand strok off the head of her who had enamoured his heart. And notwithstanding his love streamed betwixt her blood and teares; He then said, here (O Souldiers) behold the subject of your discontents, made now your sacrifice in my displeasure.*

MA-

MAHOMET the Greate, who was the greatest scourge to Christendome of all the Turkishe Emperours. He Subdued Mentesia, wonne Constantinople, overcame Craia, Subdued Pern, Pelepones sus, and Castria, tooke Otrunto, and soe in going against the Caramanian King, died. Anº. 1481.

MAHOMET THE SECOND,
TO HIS
JANIZARIES.

I Have ever believed, that thorough all the extents of my Empire, I have none to my Subjects but Slaves and Vaſſalls; That I am the Soveraign Judg of the actions of all men, who live under my power: and that no perſon whatſoever dares to Judg of me. The *Sacred Character*, which diſtinguiſheth Crowned heads from thoſe of others, ought to be inviolable in my perſon. It belongs not to them *who are to obey, to dare to Command, nor is it for the People to intermedle with their Lords, who by all Rights may diſpoſe of their lives as they pleaſe*: And if Soveraign Princes be their Maſters and Commanders (which is a right unqueſtionable) *they are not* (*in any Caſe*) *to be their Judges*. Theſe two qualities are utterly incompatible; It is then undeniably neceſſary that there muſt be either no *Thrones*, *or an abſolute obedience to them, without all diſpute or reſerves*; otherwiſe, there will be neither *Slaves* nor *Subjects*, *Tributaries* nor *Vaſſalls*; This were to uſurpe Soveraign Authority over all *Princes*; to diſgrace and diſſolve the Power and ſplendor of *Crowns*, and *Scepters*; To admit of as many *Subjects* as Kings, and as many Maſters as Men. Which diſorder once permitted, a general confuſion muſt ſpeedily and inevitably ſucceed. But (to ſpeak the truth without oſtenation) I believe few *Princes* have better learn't the Art of Government then my ſelf. It is true, I could not always obſtruct you from that inſolency which once broke forth, ſawcily to cenſure and condemn my actions, after you had ſo many thouſand times extolled and commended my enterprizes, which heaped Glory on you. As for my ſelf (I freely proteſt) I know no juſt cauſe for your raſh temerity: For you reſpect me as your lawful Prince, and as deſcended from the antient *Ottomans*; What reſpects do yee not, by the bonds of nature, owe me; And if you conſider me as a *Conqueror*, and behold me amidſt my *Trophies*, where I am attended with ſo many *Scepters* and *Crowns* which I have obtained with ſo much illuſtrious fortitude and Gallantry; what veneration ought you not to pay me? Or if you look upon me as meerly your Prince, whoſe inclination is rather to exactneſs of Juſtice, then to any ſoftneſs or mercy; And whoſe Authority is layd in the Foundation, and tempered in the blood of thoſe who have been neareſt to me (*though the Grandees of my Empire*) what fear and reverence ought not to poſſeſs you? And having advanced ſo much plenty to your *Provinces*, having Conquered *twelve Kingdoms*, and *two entire*

Empires, gained two and thirty Field Battailes, and fought in perſon more then in an hundred reencounters; Having given ſuch ſolemn examples of my *Juſtice*, which hath ever appeared to be very near allied to *Cruelty* (Eſpecially to thoſe who would not know how unlimited our bounds were) After (I ſay) all theſe effects the ſplendor of my *Actions*, the Grandeur of my *Triumphs*, the acknowledgement of my Victories, the dread and fear of my *Chaſtiſements*, could not all theſe reſtrain you from baſe and rude repinings, but that you muſt needs carry ſeditious fire to my *Seraglio*? and after ſo many Warrs, ſo many hazards, ſo much pain and travel, becauſe mine eyes glanced upon a Beauty to murmur at my repoſe, enchanted with the ſweet charmes of her pleaſant converſation? But as unjuſt and impudent as you are, ſee how after I have conquered others, I can as eaſily conquer my ſelf: Behold the ſad Victory that I here preſent; and by the Victors tears gueſs at the difficulty which I met with grapling with ſuch a Soul-inchanting Enemy. You (cruel villaines) know, that this fair and unfortunate perſon, without arms, and without offence, hath given me more trouble then the moſt potent Enemies. Not able to ſatisfie your rage with the removal of my affections, I have taken away her life, and with one blow of a Cymeter cut off her head to ſatisfie your unjuſt deſires. To eſtabliſh my Throne I have rended my heart from my ſelf. Do you not think that this fair blood which I have ſpilt to gratifie your thirſty luſts, ſhall (ſometime or other) extract brackiſh tears from your eyes? No, no, you ſhall not be diſcharged at ſo eaſie a rate. You will ſay (perhaps) you would have your Prince intirely without the affections of Love, and to aim at nothing but ambition: You wiſh for War, and you ſhall have enough; I ſhall lead you into ſuch eminent dangers, that you ſhall ſee that he ſhall have Honor that dares to follow me; where, if you be not *Cowards*, you ſhall ſatisfie with your *blood*, for that which you have forced me to ſpill. I muſt ſacrifice at leaſt a *hundred crowned heads*, if I ſhall porportion Oblations equal to what you have ſeen me offer; and I ought to offer up my ſelf if I intend to expiate the fault of thoſe who have conſtrained me to commit an action ſo barbarous. Yet ſeeing in ſacrificing my ſelf I might loſe vengeance fit for you, it is neceſſary that I ſurvive *to puniſh you*, to the end to make inſolent Subjects know how to reſpect *Princes with greater honor*, and to teach *Kings* how to *chaſtize barbarous vaſſals*. Thoſe who ſhall refuſe to pay to their Soveraigns juſt *Tributes*, are more excuſable then thoſe who dare to cenſure their Actions, and to paſs their judgement on their *Soveraigns Government*. It is a thing very natural to love and keep Gold, Pearls, and Diamonds, which inrich a Family, and ſerve for the conveniency of Life: *But to raviſh Majeſty of her Glory*, and explicate Royal Intentions with *opprobrious Inſolency, it a crime as far from pardon as excuſe: It could bring no advantage to the offenders, and therefore the more irremiſſible. Should Kings dive and ſearch into the crimes and errors of their Subjects, how ugly would they appear?* Is there any one of you whom love, hatred, avarice, revenge, ambition, or envy, hath not tranſported to commit a hundred faults; which becauſe they have not offended civil ſociety, and have not been complained of to me, you have not ſo much as been reproached. And why then (unjuſt Cenſurers as you are) ſhould I deign to anſwer before you (not for any crimes)

For as towards you Kings cannot commit them. Yet (not being insensible of what is past) What if I suffered my self to be caught with the most accomplisht Beauty that ever was born under Heaven? Trouble not your selves at the occasion of this accident, that glance is over; you shall never more complain of my *effeminate tenderness*: As it was the first in your observation, it shall be the last in my passion. In the mean time learn from this lesson (sealed with innocent blood) that I have passed from one extremity to another; *be instructed* (by this fair Head separated from her Body) *that there is not one of you who may not fall by the same destiny*: And by this high, and great example, learn to serve and fear those who can as easily destroy you. Of all the Crimes which Subjects can commit, that which you have perpetrated is (without doubt) more directly opposite to *Soveraignty. To pass a censure, or to whisper seditiously against the Actions of Princes, is a sin so notorious, as none but you durst presume to fancy,* As for all other things, which you might conceit against him, he can preserve himself. If you should attempt his life, his Guards and personal Valour might prevent your *Treason* and *mischief*; *But from malitious tongues there is no protection.* Yet know, the more envious you are towards your Prince, the more *you eternize his glory. And when your Prince (in his solitary thoughts) is most serious for your prosperity; it is then (usually) when you censure his careful retirements, lazines, or idleness. Not considering how much his active Soul contributes towards your quiet, nor his care to your repose.* Think not that the *Sacred Character* of *Princes* (which distinguisheth them from their Vassals) consisteth meerly in the magnificence of their *attendence*, the puissance of their *Armies*, and in the riches of their *Treasures*. No, it is not all this that compleateth the *Majesty* of *Kings*, nor do these Royal occurrences only command your *obedience*, and make *Kings to raign. But it is an honor and obedience seated in the very foundations of your Souls, in which garb you ought to approach to their throne with adoration. And you are bound to believe (as toward your selves) that your Prince cannot erre as towards his vassals.* This may teach you not intermeddle with his actions, not to resist his Government, not to demand or Peace, or War, to will what he liketh, and to believe that his pleasure is not unjust. *It is upon this Basis of Loyalty and obedience that the foundation of Majesty is built*; and whereby it is solely preserved: Who ever failes in this original duty may easily fail in all others. It is the Commencement of all Seditions, the ground of all Revolts, the Platform of all Paricides, Rebellions, and Treasons. *It is most important then for all Princes to keep their subjects strictly to their duty,* which entertaineth a true tranquility of their Estates: And makes them raign and live as *Kings*. The marvellous harmony which governeth the Universe, may serve as a rule to all *Princes* and people of the World: *Since the beginning of all ages, the Rivers have glyded quietly without retortion towards their Fountains. The Sea contains it self within its bounds, the Heavens are constant and infallible in their motions, the whole course of nature orderly obeys their primitive Commands, those streams which pass over the Gravel and Sand, are not envious at those which flow over the flowry Meadows. The serpents crawle on the Earth, without envie to the birds which fly in the air, each Creature continues satisfied in that degree to which it hath been first assigned by its Soveraign; quietly resolved by native obedience, to render that honor to the Creator* which

which is due: And I wiſh that all people would render to their Princes (whom Heaven hath deſigned to be their Lords and Maſters) that which is due to them from their Subjects as their birthright naturally obligeth them. Then (without diſpute) they might be more happy in their qualities; And if the Prince be more vertuous, their obedience will but render them more fortunate and glorious: If evil and wicked, the Subjects are bound the more to conceal and obſcure his vices and errors, or (at leaſt) ſo to compoſe themſelves, *as that they will not diſcern any infirmities or imperfections in their Prince, to his prejudice and diſhonor.* For as there is no virtue, but a vice attending, hath ſome reſemblance to it which every moraliſt cannot ſuddainly diſtinguiſh: So is it with the Subject, they cannot diſcern what is exact Juſtice: Or that Vice which ſo much reſembles it, which is Cruelty: They cannot conclude rightly whether their *Prince* be Prodigal or Liberal, whether he loveth Peace or feareth War, whether timorous or prudent, raſh or Couragious, Provident or Covetous. *And therefore Princes who every moment diſpoſe of their lives, ought not to be ſubject to their judgement, nor ſubmit to their Cenſure.* Their buſineſs, is chiefly to ſtudy virtue, to practice Obedience, and to refer the Government to their Princes pleaſure; Commending themſelves to Common Providence of ſucceeding Events. *Murmurs and reprehenſions of Vaſſalls never reform Princes,* And they who dare to uſe ſuch improper addreſſes, are like thoſe who throw ſtones up into the air, which fall on the heads of thoſe which caſt them; who, if they wound not themſelves, yet are they in danger, or elſe they fall to no purpoſe. But (perhaps you will ſay to me) our Complaints, our Murmurs, our Cryes have rowſed your Valor from being longer lull'd and charmed with the Imbraces of love: And that you have not only quitted the object of your paſſion, deſtroyed and removed it, but likewiſe ſacrificed that which we contended that you ſhould forſake: at leaſt we have gained this advantage, that we have our deſires and more then we expected. To all this I reply, that I have done as much as you ſay, but do you withall know the reaſon of this proceeding? *It is to teach you with ſome terror, never to preſume to cenſure any Actions again:* For (I lye not) in this Conjecture you have moſt deceived your ſelves, you believed that love had baniſhed the thoughts of honor from my heart; That the wanton pleaſures of peace had robbed me of the deſires of Glory in War; And that I had been ſo accuſtomed to proſtrate my will to the beauty of a fair ſlave, that I had forgotten the art to Command and rule men; And when I lead the Damſel to the Scaffold, you (doubtleſs) conceived that I aſcended thither to make an Apologie, as Captivated intirely by that fair Lady, and ſlain by the darts of her beautiful eyes. But underſtand once more, *You are too low and ignorant to be my judges, and that it belongs to me to be yours.* I doubt not but that you will (with much difficulty) digeſt the ſtrangneſs of this accident, and that now you acknowledge your ſelves not to be my Judges, but witneſſes to approve the Action which I have done in your preſence. Some may preſume in their thoughts to account this as barbarous, others will ſay that the fair blood which I have ſpilt, will blemiſh the brightneſs of mine honor: Some will conclude that by this Action I have gained more then by a Battail; And in others let thoughts be free. *If I be not deceived, they dare not ſpeak but what pleaſeth me, or elſe they do but whiſper very*

very low. This example is high enough to ſtrike a terror into thoſe who have vapoured of their own inſolency in murmuring againſt me, and to perſwade all Kings, that *It is better policy to render themſelves formidable, and to live more in their Subjects fear, then in their love.* But if any one ſhall object, the ſeverity of Juſtice is ſpeedily tranſformed into Cruelty: I anſwer; *It is much better to think too little, then too much of Clemency.* I confeſs, *Cruelty may make the Subjects miſerable, but Clemency may make them criminal: A ſevere Prince baniſheth Vice from his Eſtate: When the indulgent doth tollerate and authorize it, and makes it his uſual recompence.* It were better then that Subjects ſhould complain of their *Princes*, then that they ſhould be forced to complain of their *Subjects.* Murmur then (you Vaſſals) at my ſeverity if you have cauſe. In the reſolution I am in, *your accuſation will rather prove an honor then an injury.* I have been ſevere to my ſelf in taking away her life who was the chiefeſt ſatisfaction to my own. And I do not think that any Age (heretofore) can preſent us ſo rare an example. It is now our pleaſure to reſolve you that the *Charmes of love, and the thoughts of honor lodge not in my breaſt at the ſame inſtant*; Concluding the repoſe of our preſent eſtate to be rendred more ſecure by ſo ſtrange a preſident. If I had admitted this fair *Greek* to attend me in a *March*, and that her dalliances had ſeparated me from the Councels and dangers of War, then you might have murmured. If I had lockt her within my *Seraglio*, the Jealouſies of my *Sultanaes* might have attemped her perſon, and your hands revenged their Jealouſie. And if you had been her Executioners, I had ſtill juſtified my ſelf as *Emperor* and *Conqueror* of what I poſſeſs, though ſhe were deſtroyed. But rather ſee this inevitable Fate and Tragedy acted by my ſelf in perſon. I did believe it far better that ſhe ſhould fall by ſuch and illuſtrious hand, then to expoſe her (whom my Soul ſo loved) to your prophane rudeneſs. And as we read of ſome Fathers who have ſacrificed their own Children glorioufly for the intereſt of their Country, I may do the like, and cauſe my Miſtris to die for my glory, and the Intereſt of mine own *Empire*, without ſuſpition of fear or ignominy. This act is nothing elſe but the cutting off the thread of her life, not the ſhortning of mine; the deſtroying of her beauty, not of my ſelf; the cloſing up the ſplendor of her eyes, not the obſcuring of mine own; and though I be robbed of her for ever, yet am I not deprived of the variety of other pleaſures. Now as *Kings live not only to themſelvs, but muſt render an account of their actions, not to their ſubjects, but to their Poſterity, and Kings their Succeſſors*, (I hope) in ſacrificing this object of my love, I have ſufficiently teſtified, that *all things ought to ſubmit to true honor and renown:* That this ſole intereſt ought to ſuperſede all others: And that no other conſideration ſhould be able to interpoſe in a ſoul truly Heroick. To bend towards the concluſion, *A Prince who acts not with a noble reſentment above all others, is not worthy of the quality of that high condition: And whoſoever refuſeth an occaſion (fitly offered) merits not to have it.* It is by ſo fair a temptation wherein you were ſo fouly criminous, that I omitted not to liſten to your murmurings. Having then ſo cruelly commenced a War againſt my ſelf, it becomes me to continue it againſt mine Enemies with an equal valour; and it is your duty to repair your crime by their defeat; and ſo to merit your lives (which

I give you) by taking away theirs, by pouring out their bloud for ſparing of yours; and that you expiate a pittiful death with an Illuſtrious Victory. Pardon (*fair ſlave*) him who hath pardoned thine Enemies, out of meer conſideration to his honor: I have been an Infidel to true renown for love of thee. I have abandoned the deſign of new Conqueſts, not revenged the hatred of mine Enemies, and retarded the deſire of Victory: But this imperious Miſtreſs of Heroick Souls (whoſe Domination is ſo abſolute) could not ſuffer thee longer to be her Rival. She demands from me my heart intirely, and I have not power to reſiſt her: She hath poſſeſſed me from my infancy, and ſhe will enjoy me to my end: I have forſaken thee, (tis true) but tis for that, *for which* Alexander, *the* Cæſars, *and all Princely Heroes of Antiquity have ſearched to the death.* Be contented then that I am rendred an Infidel to my promiſe for a moment, and that I find it not ill to be longer inchanted or impriſoned in thy beauty. Tis true, thy life muſt be ſhort, but thy Hearſe ſhall be the more Magnifick, and thy Memory more Illuſtrious, when I ſhall make the ſpoiles of *Kingdoms pendants to thy Tombe.* Come then (brave Souldiers) Come, let us March to graſpe their *Standards and Enſignes* in our hands. And all thoſe Trophies of Honor and Triumph which make Victories more bright and glorious in the peoples eyes. You ſhall ſee that the Paſſions of love cannot cauſe me to forget the Honor of War; But that I know ſtill how to Command and fight: And I pray Heavens that you have not (for your part) forgot to follow and to obey me, having in ſo high a degree already forgot your duty. Know (Souldiers) that I cauſed not this fair *Lady* to die, but as I found her a Cloud and Obſtacle to the ſplendor of my name. Look to it then, that your Cowardice Eclips not the beams of my Honor: For if ſuch an accident ſhall arrive, nothing ſhall be able to preſerve you from my indignation, nor from the moſt exquiſite puniſhments. I ſhall then recompence two horrid Crimes at one time; Conſider then, and be not leſs hardy with your hands, then you have been ſawcy with your tongues. I know well (according to ordinary Cuſtom) inſtead of threatning you, I ſhould gently intreat you to the Warrs, and ſuffer your affronts: But in this Conjuncture my Prudence is more fit and uſeful. For if you ſhall prove Cowards, my Enemies will puniſh you more ſeverely then if you dyed in the Battail. And if you are brave Spirits, and gain the Field, you may expiate your Crimes, and obtain your Pardon. *When one perſon offends, he is to be puniſhed (without diſpute) to terrifie others from being Malefactors; but when Multitudes become criminous, it is wiſdom to draw advantage from their ſtrength, rather then to exterminate their perſons. Thoſe who have taken the boldneſs to rebel againſt their Prince being Soveraignly commanded, may prove ſtout and Valiant againſt his Enemies when there is a power above them to force their endeavours.* Come then (Souldiers) come I pray let us march and fight. But as I have engaged in the word of your Emperor, I will fight with as much reſolution as any private Souldier, and expoſe my ſelf to equal danger. I ſhall pretend that you beat the Enemy, and whileſt I gain the Victory, you ſhall raiſe new Trophies to our *Crown.* Such a ſucceſs may redeem your Crimes from the Guilt of innocent bloud which you have ſpilt, and recover you to that Innocency which you have loſt: Such an act may appeaſe the rage of your diſpleaſed *Prince,* and diſcharge you from

that

that Odium, Infamy and Tortures, which your black Rebellion hath contracted upon you. You know well that I have confined my Clemency to limits of reſtraint, but my Juſtice never. Place not then your hopes in the former, but your Dread and Fear in the latter. *Souldiers (who are generous) ought to fear nothing more then diſhonor, and to hope for no other thing then Victory.* You may yet avoid the one, and obtain the other: But you ſhall not be able to eſcape my revenge if you prove Cowards, nor faile to meet with Death if you be not Victorious.

The Cenſure.

I Shall cauſe this fair head to be cut off when I pleaſe, *ſaid the Cruel* Emperor, *to the Miſtris of his affections, when he ſeemed violent in his Careſſes and imbraces; yet as barbarous as his expreſſion was, there can be no Compare betwixt the verbal terror of a luſtfull Tyrant, and the ſavage action of this* Tiger Mahomet; *The Language of the firſt was but like a flaſh of lightning, quickly over. But the wrath of the ſecond was the deſtroying Thunderbolt.* The firſt motions of the Souls, and haſty raſh words ſlip often from us inconſiderately, and yet are not ranked in the number of mortal ſins: *No not by the moſt ſevere and ſtricteſt Caſuiſts. It is confeſſed, that* a good man may have wicked thoughts, and yet thoſe (quickly dying) grow not up to the ſhape of ſins; though their Conceptions be abominable, yet in a ſecond reflection the Soul diſliking them, and the will renouncing ſuch ſinful Cogitations, it may be fairly granted that ſinful thoughts and raſh words ſuddainly repented, are very pardonable. There is no imagination ſo pure which our fantaſies can preſent, but conceived in a tumult, as well have their pardon as imperfection: *But within a Soul, which radically preſerves Innocency, abortive Cogitations vaniſh away as Clouds: They are as the Creatures* Ephemeroy, *which die the ſame day they are born: Or yet if they have any being, it is ſo exiguous, that it is ſcarce viſible. But as for this Action of this* Monſter Mahomet, *it was not of that nature; He compleated his Villany by acting what he had thought, and ſpoke: Circumſtancing his Cruelty, with deliberation, making no uſe of time to repent or return from what he intended. What his imagination conceived, his underſtanding examined, and his will approved as good: Commanding his hand to commit the Crime, which that member could not have acted, but by the impetuous pleaſure of the will. It was his diſordered ambition that transformed the* Emperor *to become the* Executioner; *Love was not then the predominant paſſion, he ſubmitted his Soul to another affection more powerful and Tyrannick; And the fear of expoſing his Authority to a hazard, ſupplyed him with courage to perpetrate that which I am hardly able to leave in Hiſtory; So highly doth this Action (in my judgment) deſerve to be concluded Barbarous and unnatural.* Policy is a moſt neceſſary guide to Goverment; And it is then beſt, when regulated by the Maxims of Religion, whoſe ſacred direction permits not power to tranſgreſs beyond the bounds of reaſon, truth and equity: *Otherwiſe Policy is but like a keen ſword in the hand of a furious Mad-man. The thoughts of a wiſe man (where Religion is wanting) grow up into horrid Crimes. And that which* Philoſophers *and* Legiſlators *propoſe*

as

as an univerſal good, turnes to evil, and proves a plague and puniſhment to particular perſons. This Prince (of whom we have ſpoken) (if one ſo barbarous deſerve ſo noble a name) cauſed it to be written upon his Tomb, That his deſign was to ruin *Rhodes*, and ſtately *Italy*. *Let us not admire then, if one who deſigned that his ambition ſhould live on his Sepulcher when he was dead, ſtuck not to take away that life which he feared might be an obſtacle to his fatal ambition. Such proceedings as theſe are much like to thoſe of angry Lions, who uſually ſtrangle them whom they moſt careſs and court. Thoſe then whom ſuch Tyrants love, ought to fear: for it is a queſtion not eaſily decided, whether their love or hatred carry greater danger.*

Now from this act of horror let us turn our eyes to a ſpectacle worthy of Compaſſion, and from this ugly Monſter (who diſſembled Reluctancy upon the Scaffold) let us contemplate upon a King of better merit, and ſo divert our thoughts with more relations of varieties.

Ferdinando *King of* Caſtile, *was ſo far from being auſtere and cruel to perſons whom he affected, that he hated to be unjuſt to his very Enemies. One of his Captains named* Corall, *having defrauded the King of* Granada, *and unworthily gained vaſt ſums of money by the too much confidence which he had plac'd in his fidelity,* Ferdinand *his Maſter eſteemed himſelf obliged in honor to requite the injury: And upon this ſcore reſtored to the King of* Granada *divers places of his Dominions which he had formerly taken from him. And ſo ſoon as he underſtood how much the treachery of this Gentlman of* Caſtile *had abuſed the credulity of the* Mooriſh *King, he committed him to Priſon, he ſent for that General (who commanded his Armies in the Frontiers of* Granada) *to the Court, and ſpake unto him as followeth.*

FERDINANDO KING of CASTILE to the DUKE of *NAGERA.*

IF the inconsiderate zeal of *Corral* did not excuse (in some degree) as well as condemn; and if I did not Judg of his Actions more by his intentions then by the unhandsome effect which followed, I should teach him by a punishment (as rigorous as just) not to trespass any more so rashly against the honor, reputation, and glory of his Prince, nor to trangress his orders, or exceed his Commission, whatsoever advantage his deluded reason perswaded him to believe, that he might do, or had power to effect. Seeing then that some shadow of good appears mixt with that which is evil, and his slight crime rellished of some tincture of Virtue, and that Clemency is a Royal quality as well as Justice, towards which the dictate of my natural inclination is very pliable: I have resolved to pardon him, upon condition nevertheless, That *you* (*Duke of Nagera*, who in this case appear more just then either he or I, by detaining him prisoner, at the instant when he was culpable) shall make him know at his deliverance, that he hath at least merited a perpetual imprisonment: That a hundred actions which a noble Spirit (as he was) might effect, can never countervail his failings: And that if I did not as well call to mind that I am the Father of my Subjects as their King, I should in his person imprint such a bloody and signal mark of my anger and displeasure, that all others who are inconsiderate should be terrified by his example, and become more wise, declaring to posterity, that I never consented to a thing so unworthy the Grandeur and Majesty of Kings. If this offendor (Noble Duke) had endeavoured to breed division in the breasts of *Ferdinando*, and *Isabella*, and to sow dissention and disorder in the Royal Family; if he had withdrawn my Subiects from their duty, raised Forces in our Provinces, and armed my people against me: I shall say yet further, had he held intelligence with the King of *Granada*, whom he abused, and had falsly sold him more Towns then he cheated him of by his treachery; had he filled our whole Kingdom with blood, horror, and confusion, (I shall yet mount a degree higher) If he had attempted the life of my Children, my Queen, and self, he had less offended me, and had been more pardonable then for that crime which I mention here: For in those affaires he had only troubled my repose,

and ſhaken my power, but had not obſcured my glory, or ſtained my reputation. I ſhould have eſteemed him unfortunate, but not ſo criminous; he ſhould have appeared mine Enemy, not my Confident. But he offended with greater diſhonor then in all theſe Circumſtances: And if I had both loſt my Crown and my life, my honor ſhould have been ſtill entertained (dearer to me then both) which he hazarded to ruin. Oh (*Noble Duke*) thoſe who ſay that *Princes love not Traitors, but their Treaſons*, know not rightly the ſecret inclinations of Princes; nor the deformity of Treaſon, nor well underſtand what they ſay: However I well know that the heart of *Ferdinando*, is not capable of deſignes ſo baſe and Cowardly; And he can ſafely ſwear, that he equally deteſteth the Traitor and the Treaſon. It is not becauſe I am ignorant, how for many ages, intereſted and Cowardly Polititans have eſtabliſhed, or (at leaſt) endeavoured to ſettle as an infallible Maxim in the affaires of State; *that it is permitted to ſow the Fox skin to the Lyons Tail* (that is) to unite Craft to power, with deſign to proſper equally from them both, as Fortune and occaſion ſhall preſent. They will ſay, *the Objects of all Kings is their Grandeur and Puiſſance, and that they ought not to looſe any opportunity to inlarge their power, or forget any Circumſtance which may ſerve their deſign.* They may yet add, *that it is pertinent to uſe any meanes that may facilitate their arrival to their ends*; (It matters not by what Mediums obtained) *That all paths which lead to the Soveraignty of a Throne are fair, and it little imports whether their Frontiers are guarded, or their limits planted, in fair weather or foul, whether by Force of Arms, or ſnatcht from others in the night by ſubtlety or craft; when the pretenſes have been Innocency, and the deſigns Ambition.* In a word, ſuch evil Judges of human actions, have confounded noble Conquerors with Robbers, Uſurpation with juſt titles, Good actions with bad, glory with Infamy. Such Stateſmen permit, *that it is lawful to deſtroy, and to conceal the deſtroyer*: They are not aſhamed to allow that execrable Maxim, *that nature hath made nothing in vain, nor created poiſons without their end.* See (Duke) the wicked rules and horrid Counſells of worldly Politicians; But theſe are not the guides that lead *Ferdinando* and *Iſabella*: Who, before we conceive evil thoughts, or at leaſt, daſh them not in peices in their birth, pray with all our hearts to God that he would rather take away our Scepter and our life. How great and magnificent ſoever a King may be (though a Conqueror) I hold a man of honor, and a Chriſtian, of all perſons moſt highly excellent. *Innocency and true nobleneſs are things of moſt pretious quality, and more full of Majeſty then Robes of Purple or Crowns of Gold.* The *quiet and tranquillity which ſprings from a good Conſcience, gives a ſweet reliſh and ſatisfaction to the Soul, which no Throne of its own Virtue can afford*: And *whoſoever is toucht with a deſire of true generoſity and nobleneſs, can never meet with it, but in a participation and poſſeſſion of a Candid and unſpotted mind.* If the indiſcreet and ill adviſed *Corral*, inſtead of thoſe priſoners which he made me return without Ranſom, had brought the King of *Granada* in fetters; If inſtead of the Silver which he ſtole from him, he had brought to me all the Gold which *Chriſtopher Columbus of Genoa* pretends to be within his New-found World; If inſtead of thoſe places which his Treaſon would have given me, he had effectively delivered to me the proud Caſtle of *Halambra*: If (I ſay) he had ſubdued unto me the whole Kingdom of *Granada*, ſurprized that great City which gave

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nomination to the whole Kingdom, chased all the *Moores* out of *Spain*, and driven those Monsters into *Affrica*: If all these Great Actions had not been done by lawfull meanes; I should have disavowed them, as well as that which he hath unworthily effected; and have refused those *Crowns* and *Kingdoms*, as well as those *Towns* and that *Treasure*, which he so basely and Cowardly obtained: But perhaps (will some one say) that *the Theologie of Kings ought not to be so very scrupulous; For as their Condition is more eminent and high then others, so the Conduct of their affairs is the like: that what is prohibited to private subjects, is permitted to Soveraigns: And it matters not so much whether the design be lawful and honorable, provided it prove possible and profitable.* Suppose we should yeild, (as having suspended our reason) to such Maxims of so dangerous error: Doth not the Politician (in this Case) find perfidious utility, black, and odious? And when that position (which is certainly ever false) shall prove true; that *Princes never ought to Act, but for their particular interest*: What advantage may I look for, or what good successe may I attend; Nay, rather what evil doth not my reason perswade me to fear, and justly expect? *Publick Faith, the Lawes of Nations, natural equity ought to be sacred and inviolable Bonds, which in all Ages and all Nations ought most religiously to be observed*: These are as antient as the World, and will not terminate but with it; And whosoever transgresseth these limits of Justice, is not looked upon only as mischievous; but as monstrous; an Enemy to civil society, and a Common Perturbator of publick peace. Such a one is a horror to Heaven and Earth, and each soul lookes upon him as an impious and sacriligious person, who deserves not the Element of Fire or Water; but being an odious offence to Nature, ought justly to have all creatures to fight against him. All People have certain Lawes and Customes which they hold, as their particular proprieties, not like beasts intercommoning with each others; Those Lawes of the *Persians* are not those of the *Turks*, those of the *Italians* are not those of the *French*, those of the *Spaniards* are not those of the *English*; Nor those of *Poland* those of the *Moscovites*: So may it be said of all other Nations. In this variety each person may be observant to their own Lawes without interruption to others, or prejudicing peace and repose of the universe; Nay without so much as a verbal Contradiction. But it cannot be said so of publick Faith, of *Jus Gentium*, and natural equity; These are things that are universally reverenced of all people and all Countries: And by Consequence, those who violate them cannot expect but to be detested of all men in generall. If I should then have approved the odious Action of *Conrad*, my Faith, my Word, my Integrity may come to be slighted, or at least suspected by all the Princes of the Earth. Which of my Allyes, in Leagues of peace might not fear my perfidious undermining? And which of my Enemies (during War) would give Faith to my Parole, or affie in my Treaties; My most genuine and freest proceedings would undergoe the suspition of treachery and deceit; they would look upon my promises and engagements as baites to allure their Credulity, and listen to my propositions as Fables and lies? They would credit that all my discourse comprised under it a secret and malitious sence; they would strictly examine all my words, scorn every particular Syllable, and after an exact and rigorous discussion of my thoughts; they would conclude, that they cannot be assured of any thing they pretend to: And

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for fear of exposing the grandeur and security of their estates to the hazard of Falshood, they would resolve to trouble me eternally. All persons are either my Superiours, more powerful then I, or my equals, or my inferiours: And amongst these three orders of men, not only my neighbours, but all Princes of the Universe are comprehended: And it is undoubtedly true that the first will resolve certainly rather to oppress me, then injudiciously to expose themselves to peril, and to be anticipated by me. In the choice of acting or suffering Injustice, there are but few generous men that will choose the latter way. And *although the purity of Christianity hath left us a precept of perfection, yet there are but few Christians, and rarely any Prince who is perswaded to obey that eternal truth, and to follow (upon any occasion) such disinterested Councels.* To speak then the truth of things (as they ought) there is no Prince who could, or ought to believe, if I had committed such infidelity, that my ruin had not been very necessary; or (for a General good) who would not think it a brave action to endeavour all his power to hasten my fatal moment? As for the second rank, of those who are equal in power with me, their perpetual observations of my infidelity howerly arming them, will never suffer me to be in any repose, nor make any League or accord with me. The least alteration between their Subjects and mine will speedily be made a matter of State: The least disorder which shall arise in the Commerce of Trade will be interpreted as an injury to the Soveraign: The least Bank which shall be in dispute towards the Frontiers betwixt particulars, will Alarum all the Country into Commotions, as if I incroached upon their Provinces. And (in conclusion) it will fall out, that the hazard of a Battaile may decide the differences, and that the good fortune of the Victorious, or ill of the Vanquished may bring ruin to both parties, and so calme their inquietudes, and all their misapprehensions. For the last sort, which are the weakest, though they appear most contemptible, they oftentimes prove most formidable. For as they know themselves to be in danger to lose all, so they deport themselves more cunningly crafty to defend themselves against the oppression they fear, or misdoubt: Hereupon they endeavour to sow the seeds of discord and division amongst the Subjects of an unfortunate Prince whom they fear; they incite the Malecontents, and quicken their capricious humours; they complain and murmur with seditious spirits, and interest them to their party for mutual assistance of each other: Then they decry the present Government, reproaching the Prince, as unjust and tyrannical, and so struggle to shake off the yoak of their obedience, and abandon his protection. And if Princes be too strong for these factious *Boutefeus*, then they gather, and assemble in Conventicles; first whispering their mischief in secret, and after break out into open Confederacies and Rebellions: In the end these unquiet, and turbulent spirits, (hurried away with giddy apprehensions) redouble their natural activity; and having a specious pretence for their enterprize, never cease, but change and tumble until they reduce all things into confusion and disorder. And having run into that extremity, ingender (at length) such gross clouds and opinions upon the Prince, that he is judged criminal; and outrages daily encreasing, the rude multitudes, like Thunder-claps, and Lightenings, threaten a terrible desolation. It is in vain in such an unfortunate conjuncture

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of evils to expect any ſuccours from Neighbours; who (if not profeſſed Enemies) rather become Neuters then Parties, or Aſſiſtants. This perfidiouſneſs ſtrikes as well an *odium*, as an horror to all, who obſerve it, and gaineth pitty from no perſon: Nay, it is a condition which ſcarce procureth attention, much leſs compaſſion to the ſaddeſt complaints; and the moſt ſcrupulous perſons ſeem ſatisfied, being ſpectators of the diſgraces of a faithleſs Prince: Conceiving themſelves to merit reſpects, if they augment not their misfortunes, and diſhonor. This is not all, but how great ſoever their miſeries be in a viſible apparance, the Acts of Injuſtice prepare other exquiſite and certain evils. *Princes are ordainarily the rules of their Subjects actions: And are as the* Primum mobile *to all their motions: Their great examples are imitated, and followed by the people; each one ſees, obſerves, and ſtrives to follow their Prince as their guide; Complacency commenceth this imitation, and a ſubmiſſive habitude doth continue it. If the Prince be virtuous, the people are of that inclination: If wicked, and vitious, the Subjects are apt Scholars to ſuch a bad leſſon.* And as the *Throne* is highly elevated above ordinary ranks and degrees, ſo are the Princes errors leaſt concealed, and (by conſequence) the people ſpeedily learn to imitate them, or ſtudy revenge againſt him. If it be ſo, then what fidelity or confidence can that Prince have in his Subjects, who wanteth fidelity himſelf; Will not ſuch a faithleſs Governor, who failes to regard his own word, teach his people the ſame practice? And *will the people believe that Rebellion can be a greater ſin in them, then falſeneſs can be in their Prince? Doth he think that by teaching of them that the Laws of Nations are not ſacred and inviolable, he doth not likewiſe teach the way of diſhonor, and diſloyalty to Princes? Doth he beleive (abuſing the equity of Nature her ſelf) that the people can have any reſpect for his injuſtice? May he not expect that his falſe and cowardly dealing with his equals will perſwade fear and hatred in his inferiours?* In brief, if good Princes have ſo great a trouble to raign happily, how can evil Princes but expect to be deſtroyed with ignominy? When none of theſe accidents ſhall arrive, our neighbour Princes ſhall live without ambition, our Subjects without revolt, as having nothing to fear on earth, and ſhall ſtand in dread of nothing but him who rules in Heaven; their love ſhall make them loyal, and their Princes Juſtice ſecure. Do not I know that *God hateth the faithleſs, and their infidelity? that oathes cannot be broke without a ſin?* And is not the right of Nations (in ſome divine Relation) near to Heaven? Have not I learned, that I ſhould not *take the name of God in vain?* And muſt we not then conclude, That in all Treaties which Princes make, their words and intentions are as common witneſſes of their Treaties; whereby they warrant and eſtabliſh engagements to each other? *And ſhall not he who is Lord of Lords, and Lord of Hoſts, as he is full of power, be eſteemed equally full of Juſtice? Can I believe he will approve the Injuſtice of any in the ſervice of thoſe Armies where he himſelf is General? And will Authorize their perfidiouſneſs (who violate their promiſes) without Revenge?* Ought we not (in reaſon) not only to fear, but to believe (as a thing infallible) that he will remit me to the power and fortune of mine Enemies, and hurl upon my Head the *vials of his wrath and indignation?* And that he will (through mine own misery) render me a ſad ſpectacle of his Juſtice for the enormity of ſuch a Crime? Oh (my Lord

Nagera) had I no other conſideration but this alone, I could not but deteſt (as I have done) the unworthy action of *Corral*; and diſavow his unjuſt proceedings. Yet (it may be) *Corral* may ſay (as endeavouring to diſguiſe and extenuate his fault, and in ſome kind to paint over the Uglineſs of his Infidelity) That had he dealt with generous Enemies, who had had a ſacred reverence for their word and honor, he would have had more regard to his Faith: But knowing that (by many experiences) the *Africk* of our age is the ſame with that of the former, and that the *Punick* faith (ſometimes ſo decried) is the ſame which the *Moores* obſerved to this day, to deceive the credulity of other people; Yet their *fraud and falſeneſs is no example to any perſon of Honor.* He could not believe himſelf to have erred in imitating them; But rather that in this he committed a high act of Juſtice in making uſe of the ſame weapon (of treachery) with which they ſo frequently (though unjuſtly) aſſayl others to puniſh themſelves. But in what School diſtinction could *Corral* learn, that it was not lawful to make choice of evil things for preſent advantages? If he who leades the way, throw himſelf voluntarily upon a Precipe, can he oblige others to follow him? If the *Moores* have been perfidious, ought the *Chriſtians* to be ſo too? No, no, the *Alcoran* and the *Evangile* teach not the ſame Maxims. *Jeſus Chriſt* and *Mahomet* have not commended to the World the ſame precepts. We are not then to act according to that Doctrine, which we deteſt as abbominable, and which we believe to have ſprung from Hell. Theſe cowardly Actions, and infamous Treaſons, ought to have imprinted an horror in *Corral*, and not to have engendred in his Soul the imitation of a deſign ſo Criminous. He ought to have remembred that he was born in *Spain*, not in *Morocco*, and to have conſider'd that he was a *Chriſtian*, and not a *Moor*, he ought not to have forgotten the names of *Ferdinando* and *Iſabella*, which certainly are to be diſtinguiſh't from *Abindarrais* and *Fatime*; And that they deteſted to approve an action which their Religion did condemn, and directly ſhakes the Honor, Renown, and Laws of Nations, and which (though the *Moores* perfidiouſly admit) all *Chriſtian Princes* abhor. To ſpeak truth, the *Moor* and *Chriſtian* (in this conjuncture) have exchanged their Principles: Have not men ſeen the Frankneſs and ingenuity of the King of *Granada* in this whole proceeding? And can any eye be ſhut at the Treaſon and perfidiouſneſs of *Corral*? I am aſtoniſhed that *Corral* did not only not bluſh at his inſolency, but that he dyed not for ſhame in the horror of his own confuſion; which he had done, had he but had ſence to conſider that all the Earth muſt know, that a *Moor* was *faithful*, and that a *Spaniard*, a *Gentleman*, and a *Chriſtian* had the baſeneſs to become a *Coward* and a Cheat. But he hath not only deceived the King of *Granada*, but *Ferdinando* and *Iſabella* alſo: He had the boldneſs, after he had abuſed the General; (And in that Action affronted you alſo who Command our Armies in the Frontires,) to injure his Maſters as impudently; And to ingage them in his perfidious Acts and diſgraceful carriage. For when he addreſſed to me to obtain power to treat with the King of *Granada*, he ſpake not to me of any thing more then what your letters imported, mentioning no foul deſign at all. He only moved that he might have leave to treat upon the Ranſom of ſome Priſoners, and the rendition of ſome places: And I was pleaſed to inveſt him with Conditional

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power, which he abused in deceiving that Prince: In the mean time, who could have believed a Subject should have attempted so rashly a matter of so high a nature, and without order and consent from his Master? Or rather who will not doubt but that I had the unworthiness of Concurrence, if I had not byassed my Course another way, by disavowing and detesting what *Corral* did? Now if we have found that men have slain their own Sons for giving battail without order (although they were Victorious over their Enemies) What severe punishment hath this indiscreet Commander deserved, who did not only this action without my order, but hath committed a most horrid fact which is not only covered with Infamy, but which he basely designes to obtrude on my Shoulders? (Sir) if I had in this action observed reason and justice, Clemency and pitty would have found no place, and the offendor should have received the wages, and recompence of his deserts. And now who knowes whither the restitution which I am about to give, will salve the breach, and fully make reparation to mine honor? or whither posterity will judg candidly of my intentions? or rather not conclude them culpable? And that these second resolutions are but the effects of some remorse or poling? and yet the glory of *Ferdinando* and *Isabella* is not of so little Fame, but that some *Princes* out of envy would be glad to taint and obscure it with so black and foul a cloud. Yet *Corral* may plead, those whom I deceived are *Moores*. I answer, those whom thou didst abuse, were *Men* better deserving then thy self? because they had Faith, and thou were false. It matters not whether those we treat with were a *Hat*, or a *Turbant*, a *Rapier*, or a *Cimeter*, whether *Christians* or *Infidells*, whether they love or hate; *The Obligation of Faith is the chiefest Bond amongst persons of Honor: It is the very Ligament of Nature and all society.* During *peace, what Commerce without faith? and during war, what Capitulations without treaties? and without which men would be transformed into a condition worse then Tygers and Lyons?* Besides, *the petty subtile falsities and treacheries of private persons, are not compatible with the Grandeur and Nobleness of Princes.* Such poor Artifices become not *Kings* and *Sovereigns. Frugality in a Prince may be censured Avarice, and a vice, which in a subject may be justly commended as a piece of prudence, and a virtue. In a condition then so high, base and low thoughts are not to be admitted, nor any thing acted not beseeming the quality of a King.* And I shall incomparably loose the best advantage, if I should but hazard that of mine honor: Which once forfeited, instead of a Triumphant Chair in the midst of glorious Armies, and famous Townes, I should obscure myself in forlorn deserts, as unworthy to be in the view of the World, or for ever to see Sun. *The lives of glorious Princes ought to be as unspotted as the purest Christal*, and mine is not to be defaced with the black stain of falsity: For tis certain, *if a Prince loose his honor, that loss is irreparable for ever. The Crimes of private persons may be concealed in the obscurity of their quality, and buried in oblivion as well as their memory.* But *the actions of Princes whether good or bad survive to posterity.* As Pilots observe the Rocks in the Sea, to avoid them, so do the people the evil actions of Princes. And as Fathers in the presence of their Children more severely punish their slaves to deter their off spring from their faults: So History immortalizeth the lives of monstrous Kings to prevent successors from their crimes. Their memory proves an execration to all

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the Earth: Thoſe who never knew them, live to hate them: Thoſe, whom they never offended, ſurvive to proſecute them, and will not permit their aſhes to ſleep in quiet; which is a common Charity to all others, dead in their graves: They are deprived from all protection, living or dead, and their Carcaſſes are inſecure, and not ſure to moulder quietly in their Tombes. Let them then who are reſolved to ſet holy Temples, on fire, and commit notorious crimes, that their infamous Acts may be longer lived, follow the examples of *Corral*, and approve, what his Conſideration undertook. But as for *Ferdinando* and *Iſabella*, who aim at glorious immortality, and abhor unworthy actions, they ſhall always deteſt and condemn *Corrals* ignoble treachery. And they ſhould as well condemn the offender as the crime, if his Valour did not plead for Grace for his imprudence, if Clemency were not a Virtue Royal, as well as Juſtice, and did not (of the two) more incline to Humanity. But ſeeing no Kings are ſo perfect, either in their Offices or perſons; but have cauſe to addreſs to Heaven for pardon for many offences: They are not to refuſe others humbly imploring favour and remiſſion, nor be inexorable for what they pray themſelves. They ought rather to apprehend by their own infirmities how to uſe grace and mercy towards others; And if Princes expect their Subjects ſhould tollerate their errors and imperfections, there is a kind of a neceſſity for them to be propitious to their Subjects, or at leaſt to correct but gently, ſeeing they are the Fathers of the people. That *Corral* lives then, who is ſo unworthy, it is a reprive only to render him capable to endeavour a Reparation of his Crime, by better actions, and thereby to waſh off the infamy of his perfidiouſneſs: And (in ſome degree) he may juſtifie and manifeſt to all the World the ſplendor and clearneſs of that honor and reputation of his *King*, which he had ſo baſely abuſed. Return then (Duke *Nagera*) to the Frontiers, where you commanded my Armies, make reſtitution to the King of *Granada*, of all thoſe places ſurpriſed by perfidious *Corral*; ſatisfie him out of my own Treaſury for the Ranſome of all the Priſoners delivered, and command *Corral* to remain Priſoner till he have ſurrendred all the treaſure he baſely robbed from the King of *Granada*. To this purpoſe diſpatch a Trumpet with one of our Heraulds to the King of *Granada* to make an Apology, and to excuſe the inſolent affronts of *Corral*, and to aſſure him (at the ſame inſtant) that I have no need of ſuch ignoble meanes and ways to vanquiſh my Enemies; Nor ſhall ſuch treacherous falſities be the degrees to my advantages. Fail not in your duty to our Commands. For I intend that all the Earth ſhall underſtand, that I ſcorn to ſteal, or uſe treachery to gain a Victory, or to increaſe my grandeur by diſhonorable and ignoble means.

The Censure.

CErtainly *this great action did well become* Alexander the Great, *from whom* Ferdinando *borrowed the last words of this discourse. And I do not wonder that a Prince so high did so greatly value his honor; nor that his Conquests proved correspondent to his courage. The petty Artifices, and evil ways of unworthy Actors, may serve sometimes to enrich the projectors with more facility; and such fobbs and cheats are more tollerable (if ever) in persons of mean fortunes, and base conditions, where the obscurity of their birth may conceale a part of their shame, and an extream necessity place them below the cognisance of the Law: Both these qualities may frame excuse, and (in some kind) tollerate, if not authorize the injustice of their proceedings. But for* Princes, Kings, *and* Monarchs, *who have no other objects for their designs but true renown, these base, and ignoble actions in them cannot but be famed horrid and shameless crimes.* Those Martial Laws which have warranted Heraulds boldly to denounce a War, have decreed their persons to be sacred, and the same Lawes do condemn Spyes to death. Those Captaines, who after the Battel imbrace, and caress their Enemies Prisoners, ordain exact punishment for them that keep not their Parol. In a word, as the Lightning still precedes the Thunder, so Kings ought not basely to surprize their Enemies by perfidious Treachery unworthy their Grandeur. *Those whom Fortune hath elevated to a* Throne *are so rich and powerful, that in their Wars they ought not to have any other end, or object, but honor, and reputation; and what valuation can they expect by a perfidious interest, or by a base, and ugly Artifice? It was the speech of an ordinary Officer to his King,* I would use deceit if I were in thy place; *and it was a Princely Answer,* I might perhaps use it if I were in thy condition. The dark and lesser Starres as they are obscured with every Cloud, so their spots are not visible to every eye; but the least Ecclipse of the Sun is discerned by all the Earth. *It is so with Kings; as the ascent of their Throne is in the view of all the World, so are their perfections or errors equally visible; They cannot then be too careful of their Renown. And as true lovers are ever apt to be jealous: So Princes passionatly amorous of true Glory, cannot be too scrupulous in its preservation. I know it is an Old Maxim,* Give a flying Enemy a Golden Bridge; *And that* Philip *of* Macedon *said, that* no place was impregnable, where a Mule loaded with Gold can climbe; *And another Politician asserted, That* Children were to be deluded with toyes, and men with promises. *Yet I believe these Maxims are false, and fallible, and absolutely unworthy a noble mind or a prudent Statesman. But since that* Ferdinando *hath searched to the bottom the arguments of this discourse, we shall not further ingage in the dispute. And seeing we are at* Castile, *we intend to speak of another King of that Nation,* Don Henry *during the Civil War, having blockt up a rebellious Fort, and the besieged having made a Sally, amongst others an Enemy Cavalier was taken Prisoner; who finding his wounds Mortal, prayed the Guards to give him leave to go speak with the King, that before his death he might discover a secret of Grand importance; The chief Officer granted his request, and in the presence of the King (before he expired his last) he related with much regret and testimony of repentance, that he sallied out of the Town with express orders (as others) to kill the King; And according*

to their joynt command, they generally ingaged; Then ſecretly whiſpering, he named all thoſe Grandees, *to the King, who had conſented and conſpired to ſo evil a reſolution; as ſoon as the relation was made, the Priſoner died. After which action* Don Henry *would never reveal to any one of his Confidents, thoſe whom that Cavalier had accuſed. And this diſcourſe is to juſtifie a ſilence ſo extraordinary, which denyed all importunities of his neareſt friends and Counſellors to get diſcovered.*

DON HENRY *to the Count of* D'ALBA TORMES.

I Know well (Noble Count) that the Subject whereon I am to diſcourſe is not ordinary, but I am ſatisfied alſo (if Prudence and Policy abuſe me not) that it is not unreaſonable. In all the accidents of a Kings Reign, it ſtands with his wiſdom to conſult and weigh thoſe things he intends to undertake, whether they be *Juſt*, *Profitable*, and *Glorious*; which three Conditions are very neceſſary to Royal enterprizes: and when theſe three qualities are firſt deſigned, it cannot be, but that the Cooperation of all three will be harmonious in the ſame end. *Juſtice and true renown render joyes full of innocence, which voluptuous pleaſure is a ſtranger unto; and clemency in thoſe who knows how to practiſe it as they ought, renders true delight, which revenge is ignorant of, how ſweet ſoever it may appear to the imagination.* Before I can examin the reſentment of two objects ſo extreamly contrary (which is the preſent task) I muſt preſent to your memory, That a Cavalier prickt with remorſe of Conſcience, deſired to ſee me, and as he was dying, to diſcourſe to me a deſign which he had to kill me, and to reveal their names who had imployed him in that cruel Office, at which inſtant he could nominate no other Authors of his Crime, but mine own revolted Subjects: He ſallied out of *Valladolid* with others, and was not of my Camp then, when he undertook this barbarous reſolution. And it is with a well ballanced conſideration (as I ſhall ſhew in the ſequel of this diſcourſe) what I have here undertaken: In the mean time let the ſpectators Judg, whether I have not diſcreetly managed my power, being equally effective to revenge or puniſh, as Wiſdom & Policy have adviſed me; or whether too much compaſſion hath not ſuborned me to Clemency, or a falſe repreſentation of Glory hath not clouded my reaſon. Firſt to conſider the Affaires in general; it is confeſſed that *Revenge is ſweet, and carries with it a Character of Divinity, and that it is the moſt terrible Mark of the Power of Soveraigns: It is by that wherewith the Subjects hearts are poſſeſſed with fear and trembling; tis revenge that bridles Neighbour Princes, and confines them within their own limits: It is ſhe that aweth the people to a continuation of peace; and (in effect) ſhe makes Kings more formidable, to all other ſorts of ſubordinate men.*

But

But we must admit (sometimes) of this distinction, that amongst *Christian Princes* it is enough to be of power to revenge those who prejudice the peace and welfare of a Kingdom; who for some reasons sometimes may better be punished: But *to imagine that revenge is an act permitted on all occasions, is an erring Principle*, which evil Princes have established, as resolving whom they cannot make to love, those they will inforce to fear: As often as the Thunder rattles over our heads, it strikes a terrour; but it falls not on all the criminous, because the world is full of them: *The Sun shines as well on the wicked as the good: God pardoneth more often then he punisheth; his Clemency spreadeth more universally then his Justice*; which Attributes, though equal in perfection, are not equally and respectively executed on us. *As for Revenge 'tis to be used as Physitians do Poysons*, (that is) *in violent, and dangerous Maladies, where every other remedy will be infective, and where necessity commandeth to force and drive away one evil by another.* Revenge may be sometimes convenient, though not always. The destroyers of *Citys*, *Provinces*, and *Kingdoms*, who to destroy one Enemy commit thousand innocent persons to the miseries of War, and care not for the prodigal effusion of blood to satisfie their rage, survive in History, but in an infamous Character. The innocent blood spilt, dyes their crime in a deep Tincture: And (in my opinion) such bloody *Tyrants* are not to be ranked with noble *Princes*. But Clemency makes not so great a noise; She casts a radiant beam of honor over them who practice so divine a Virtue: She covers their heads with a bright Ray of Splendor who are guided by her, whiles the Plotters and Actors of Revenge are inveloped in thick clouds of darkness and blood. The one engendereth a birth of Love, the other of Hatred; the one leaves you in tranquillity, the other moves you to perturbation; the one procures you thousands of faithful servants, and the other stirs up millions of secret Enemies; the one intendeth the consolation of the miserable, and the other is ever busie in the invention of punishments. Revenge deviseth Fetters, Clemency considereth how to unloose them: The one practiseth the filling of Tombs and Graves, the other is recalling to life those who have merited the sentence of Death. To conclude then rationally this point, *Revenge is not to be permitted to Kings, but when it serves infallibly for profit or glory*: And *that secret delight which is inseparable to those who slinky revenge* (as to punish those who have offended them) *is not considerable in the breast of a noble and Christian Prince. It is then* (if occasion rightly offer) *when if neither profit nor glory may be obtained, that the exercise of revenge may be prudently suspended: and Justice* (where those considerations are) *will be no less satisfied*; For that (which makes Revenge glorious, is then when a Prince hath in his power, a proud and insolent Enemy, who being the head and chief of a Faction or Conspiracy, deserves severest punishment, whose example may teach all his party to tremble, and stand in awe, when they behold the most eminent and notorious Malefactor amongst them so disgracefully lose his head: And *where Clemency may be interpreted fear or cowardise, there in the exact preservation of the Majesty of a Crown, it is more prudence to incline to revenge then pity*: For when one pardons, at that time, when it may be conjectured he dares not presume to punish; at such an instant, Clemency may be lookt on as an ambiguous Virtue: But when a Prince passeth an Act of Grace on such considerate circumstances as I have done,

done, upon a poor Cavalier, full of mortal wounds, at the point of death, and already ſtretcht on the Beere, who expiring the laſt minutes of his life, cloſeth them up with repentance, begging pardon for his traiterous deſign, and then naming the Authors, and Contrivers of the black conſpiracy; it would not only have appeared a kind of cruelty, but likewiſe imprudence to have then augmented his torments which cauſed his remorſe; and to have poſted him to his Grave, who had not (poſſibly) but a few moments longer to breath: But I was ſo far from haſtening his death, that I ſhould rather have endeavoured his continuance if the cure of his wounds had been as equally in my power as my diſpoſition to pardon his offence: And certainly in his great extremities the grief for his crime againſt his Prince did more ſadly affect him then the ſharpneſs of his wounds. Theſe reaſons well weighed, no man can juſtly ſuſpect that fear or weakneſs ſnatched this pardon from my hand, unleſs he will affirm, that it is a glory for a Prince to take revenge on a feeble, wounded, dying Penitentiary, weeping, and bleeding for his crimes. *Difficulty and danger equally ſet forth the glory of revenge as well as War. And if Kings were obliged in policy to puniſh all indifferently who have offended them, (They being naturally for the moſt part vindicative) they ſhould never want matter for their diſpleaſure to work on, nor a plenary ſatisfaction to their cruelty, if inclined to ſuch practiſes: For there are too many feeble Criminals in all eſtates, whoſe blood might be exhauſted eaſily, and without danger (their lives or deaths being indifferently in the Princes power) as to the repoſe and quiet of their Kingdom.* Now if the puniſhment I might have inflicted on this poor ſnake could not be glorious, it could not have redounded to any advantage. I have formerly told you that this Cavalier ſallied (as others) out of *Valladolid*, and that his evil enterpriſe was not formed in our Camp; and conſequently an example ſo ſevere and rigorous was not then neceſſary, either to keep ſecret Enemies in their Allegeance, or thereby to hinder the eruptions of their malice and rebellion: For they were publick Enemies who were accuſed, and who employed him. And this is (Generous Count) the difference betwixt the one and the other (if my policy fail not) that the one kind is to be terrified with fear, and the other invited by the Acts and grace of love. If a King receive intelligence that ſome notable plot is deſigned againſt his perſon, or his royal Throne: And that the things in agitation are not come to maturity and ripeneſs, but depend on ſome incertainties, ſo that his greateſt Enemies appear Loyal, as if his Friends: And the *Biſhops* and *Eccleſiaſticks* (being of the ſame complexion) have their hearts as equally divided as their *Miters* (their opinions in general being diſſentaneous) and no perſon having openly declared; In ſuch a caſe an example of puniſhment and revenge may be ſeaſonable, and neceſſary: *For if a Prince be not ſometimes active in revenge, his people will conclude him too timorous, or too indulgent; and thereby be encouraged to a Revolt, which his ſeverity might have prevented.* In occaſions of this nature conſideration ought to be had to this Maxim of Policy, *That a ſeaſonable Act of Juſtice (and thereby an effuſion of little blood) ſometimes prevents an inundation of miſery, and takes away the cauſe of ample pardons, and unlimited Clemency.* But then when ſecret devices and concealed conſpiracies break forth into publick Revolts, and open Rebellions, and

ſuch

ſuch deſperate reſolutions have armed the Subjects againſt their Prince. It is his buſineſs in ſuch a caſe to know how to ſubdue Inſolency with true honor, and to chaſtiſe them with the Sword, as well as how to pardon them. *Revenging Juſtice is not always ſeaſonable, publick puniſhments are moſt fit and proper for the Battel; and when Rebels become vanquiſht priſoners, the ſureſt ſecond Conqueſt is effected on them by grace and pardon; thereby conquering as well thoſe who never came into the field, as thoſe who had the fortune to eſcape the edge of the ſword.* By this means ſome are reclamed, others cheerfully invited to obedience; and the Conſequence proves a double Victory. It is confeſt, this Rule is not infallible; and that *ſome are ſo obſtinate and malitious, that neither pardon, nor puniſhment can regulate or ſubdue their paſſion*: And as for Clemency, they are (for the moſt part) deaf towards her mild and courteous voice (ingaged wilfully to their reſolutions with ſome wicked party) but I know well that *he who is not toucht with a juſt apprehenſion of his own error or crime, will hardly be convinced by the terrors of fear*; or, *In the beginning of a Civil War, it is not wiſdom to make all thoſe deſperate who are guilty: For what greater miſery can happen to them, after they are once engaged in miſchief, then to fall into the hands of a provoked Prince, whoſe ſeverity will not hearken to a ſubmiſſive Repentance; This is the way to make them reſolute even to the hazard of his own Army; ſince it often happens, that the fear of an approaching death makes men Act things miraculous; and even more then can poſſibly be expected from humane power.* To rebate then the truth of things; *Revenge conſiſts not ſolely in the exerciſe of puniſhment; but to have power to revenge, and to be able to undertake it with facility; or (at leaſt) without danger, is undoubtedly the moſt noble and higheſt ſatisfaction in ſuch occurrences: And there is often more content to ſee an Enemy obliged to your ſweetneſs, then to ſee him expire under the torments of a rigorous ſeverity.* This example then of my moderation which I have preſented this day may be an occaſion to diſarm thoſe who ſhall be moſt violent againſt me in the remainder of my life. It may be in this very hour (wherein I ſpeak) ſome others may repent, and are conſulting how to caſt themſelves at my feet: And all who have revolted hearing of this Act, may be toucht with ſhame, or ſtrick with confuſion: But however if they are not yet made penitent and pliant, (I ſaid before) how rigorous ſoever it may be, ſhakes none but feeble and fearful Soules: But Clemency on the contrary is very affective on generous minds, more then others. Virtues are generally linked in ſuch a Concatenation, that what ever difference ſeemes to appear amongſt them, they are all united in building up the ſame pile, and they have (which I cannot deſcribe) a ſecret union amongſt them which cauſeth thoſe who poſſeſs any one, to diſcern that they have an inſenſible cohabitation with all the reſt. Thus the valiant Souldier admires Juſtice in the perſon of the Prince, the Magiſtrates honor Valour and Courage in the Commanders; all Noble minds, who have Heroick thoughts have a capacity and ſence of a virtuous example. But you will tell me that which aſtoniſheth us moſt in this your action, is not that you have pardoned a ſingle Cavalier, a Priſoner wounded, ready to dye, and begging pardon; but that you are pleaſed to conceale the names of thoſe who commended the Ponyard to his hand that was to ſtab you, and ſuggeſted the deſign to attempt your life; ſince which time you have wrapped up that ſecreſie in

ſuch ſilence, that even all your faithfulleſt Subjects are intirely ignorant of thoſe perſons who were your chiefeſt Enemies. Some of you likewiſe may object; what moves you to be of their party, and ſo to act againſt your ſelf? Behold (Noble Count) theſe are the conſultations and thoughts which I read very legible in your countenances, and thoſe conjectures I dayly obſerve through the impatience wherewith you have attended me hitherto. But before I ſhall give you any more reaſons which perſwaded me to an action of this kind, know this, that I ſhall be the moſt faithful of all my Conſpirators, and that in all my life I ſhall never diſcover to any one thoſe who had deſigned my death. I know this proceeding may be as ſingular as the example; yet I cannot be diſſwaded but that my intentions are rational; to examin which with more ſtrictneſs we muſt ſeriouſly conſider the intereſt of the Prince; that of his Children, that of the Families of the Conſpirators, and that of the State in general. For the firſt, it is true that it is poſſible that Poſterity may not know that there had been a conſpiracy to deſtroy their King; and perhaps it were better if it were ſo. That Hiſtory (which profeſſeth to be impartial, faithful, and exact) it may think fit (without any ſcruple) to ſilence thoſe actions which merit eternal Oblivion; and whereby the memory of the Prince could receive no advantage: And yet it is not ſo, becauſe it is not true, that wicked men conſpire as well againſt virtuous Princes as againſt Tyrants. It may be further objected, that ſuch a Record were for the ſhame of thoſe who lived in that age, and were Subjects under that Reign; and it is doubtleſs more glorious for Kings to ſuffocate the bruit of Conſpiracies, then to perpetuate them to Poſterity. If this reaſon ſeem not ſtrong enough to ſupport my reſolution, let us examine what utility may redound by the publication of that which hath been revealed. You are not ignorant (ſince we are before *Valladolid*, where reſide the Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, Admiral *Erederick*, the Maſter of *Alcantara*, Count *De Medellin*, and the reſt of thoſe Confederates are met) That the Capital Conſpirators are not in ſuch a place where they can eaſily be taken; That they have their Swords in their hands; That they are in a moſt ſtrong Town, and in the midſt of a conſiderable Army, and by conſquence in a condition inſolently to deny, and outface thoſe evil deſigns which I might publiſh, and to ſecure themſelves againſt all attempts. If then (theſe conſiderations firſt premiſed) I ſhould condeſcend to particularize the Attempters of my life, how think you would ſuch Enemies after be ever invited to a Treaty of Peace: Can you imagine after ſuch a declaration they will ever have a confidence in me? Again, how reſolutely, think you, they will now Act? Or how do you ſuppoſe they ought to proceed to put in execution that which they ſhall know me to underſtand? Really, I think, they would have cauſe to make this uſe of ſuch an action in me: Nor could they provide for their own ſecurity otherwiſe, then by adding one Sin unto another. The ignominy and danger which ſuch a Publication would throw upon them, and lay them open unto, could not poſſibly be encreaſed: And being rendred thus deſperate can you believe they would not Act further to ſave thoſe lives, which for what they have already committed muſt certainly be loſt. No, no (Noble Count) theſe muſt neceſſarily be the events, and therefore

ſore I ſhall not repent my having been ſecret and faithful to my Enemies. *Crimes voluntarily repented of, merit leſs of accuſation, ſo ſometimes ſhame directeth the offenders to the way to vertue, whoſe perſons would never return if their faults were publiſhed.* Therefore *we are never to divulge a crime but what we are able (if God pleaſe) to puniſh.* If Kings were to Act as their Subjects. then undoubtedly a truth of this importance were not to be concealed or diſguiſed, becauſe *the hatred of one particular perſon doth uſually laſt with his life, and it may be that which he doth not effect at one time, he may execute at another.* But it is not ſo with *Princes. Malice ordinarily is not directed towards their perſons, but their power.* And conſpiracies deſigned againſt them, are for the moſt part upon cauſes which continue not long upon equal foundations: For we ſee that Conſpirators themſelves (according to events) alter their intentions. *Such politick Artiſts there are, who may attempt the life of the Prince; And yet a revolution of affairs may command them to hazard their own for his ſafety.* As for obtaining their deſires, they are ſometime wearied with them, and they may chance to looſe their evil intentions, becauſe never publiſht to the World; and *an evil conſtellation being paſt, it may ſo prove the Prince to be no leſs in ſafety with criminal penitentiaries, then he hath been amongſt his ſubjects who have been always faithful.* Secrecy and diſſimulation in ſuch points and caſes, is moſt conſiderable. For if I had accuſed the Conſpirators by a Manifeſto (whether they had the Grandees, Nobles, and Commons on their party, or not,) It is certain they might have anſwered (as tis natural) that they loved not to own and avow a wicked action; they might publiſh that this accuſation (though never ſo true) was a Calumny to decry their party, and thereby render my integrity ſuſpected to the greateſt part of *Europe*. Beſides, after publication they might frame better diſguiſes then before, and ſo with new intentions more ably delude, and gain their ends. But as things now are, I have underſtood their deſign by the ſingle report of one who hath deciphered their intimate actions; and I am adviſed which way the wheel of their thoughts turned: which inſpection they not diſcerning, I ſhall read within their hearts, and ſee the moſt concealed of their intentions, and deſtroy them (if I pleaſe) with great facility. I may then with prudence, ſilence their names, and attend, without danger, their repentance, but not without peril declare the Criminalls. Yet may ſome one ſay, do you not believe by their ſpies that the Conſpirators know that one of their party hath conferred with you in ſecret, and then they cannot but imagine that it was to betray their deſigns, and conſequently they conclude with themſelves as much as if you had accuſed them openly? To that I anſwer, there is ever a notable difference betwixt ambiguity and certainty. Thoſe who Act not but with ſome doubt, do little more with precaution then if they had meerly known nothing: And thoſe who doubt not at all, may perhaps become faithful to my ſervice by the ſole conſideration of an action ſo extraordinary. I know well that ſome men may cenſure that a piece of Artifice which in me is an effect of Prudence and Bounty: Policy in this caſe may be able to ſerve to two intentions intirely different (when I pleaſe) to one end, and to explicate the moſt clear and apparent actions as I ſhall Judg fit. But as Kings ought not to attribute ſo much to common humane prudence, as to ſecret aſſiſtances inſpired to them from

Heaven

Heaven in the moſt emergent difficulties; I believe in the election of pardon, or puniſhment, ſecrecy, or diſcoveries, it is permitted indifferently to follow that way which my reaſon tells me is moſt Noble, and generous, as neither thwarting with the rules of wiſdom, nor oppoſing the meanes of ſafety. Now, if after the conſideration of the Princes intereſt it may prove neceſſary to adviſe of the good of his ſucceſſion; It is moſt important to an eſtate, that he who is to aſcend the Royal Throne ought to be free from all Malice, Paſſion, and Intereſt: And how can that be, if the ſucceſſor underſtand, that the Inheritors of the moſt illuſtrious houſes of his Kingdom joyned in Conſpiracy to take away his Fathers life? If he be a dutiful Son, and one who naturally honored his Father, he cannot (but with difficulty) forbear to extinguiſh their memory; and if he be jealous and ſuſpitious, he will more hardly confide in their perſons. Therefore Kings never ought to eſpouſe particular intereſts, and when they receive the Crown by their Fathers death, it is beſt to Bury in their Fathers Tombes all their quarrells, their diſpleaſure and revenge; and the Succeſſor is to guard nothing more choicely in his heart, then a Paternal love to his Subjects. It is then moſt neceſſary (when it is poſſible) to conceal conſpiracies from thoſe who are to ſucceed, leaſt a preoccupant fear poſſeſs their Spirits, and make them commit greater overſights in rendring thoſe uncapable as to any Office or imployment, who though they have committed great Crimes, yet having repented, are more fit and able to exerciſe them then any others, and by this means perpetuating an Enmity between the Prince and his Subjects. Now as the relation is neceſſary between the one and the other, it is important as towards the Conſpirators Families, that their Crimes be rather concealed then publick, chiefly when they are ſo notorious, that they not only merit revenge, but ſpread an Infamy which deriveth a bitter taſte to future poſterity. Wherefore ignominious blemiſhes are not to be unadviſedly branded or fixed on Illuſtrious Houſes, becauſe their race and linage are the force and ſtrength which ſupporteth Crownes. The Princes in this caſe ought to be tender of their Glory, as a beam of his own Majeſty, and as to this purpoſe a prudent concealment of their crimes may render more advantage than a raſh diſcovery; for why, their faults were perſonal, and it may not prove ſound Policy to make their crimes ſo immortal, as not to be forgotten in any Succeſſion of ages. This were to render them odious to the people, and to remove them from that popular reſpect, which being united to them, may be ſerviceable to the Prince.

Again, as it may prove no good policy, ſo it may be queſtioned whether it be an Act of Juſtice, to make the Conſpirators iſſue beare a part of their Auncеſtors puniſhment for their delinquency; which proceedings (unleſs Affaires of State Judg them neceſſary) may prove very dangerous; For *a King alone formes not a Kingdom, he is but the head of that great body; the Grandees (next under him) make up the more noble parts:* There muſt then be great Caution of diſhonoring and debaſing too much, and too long thoſe members, which, as the Armes and Shoulders immediately bear up the head. By all this it appears that whether we look on the ſafety of my perſon, the ſplendor of my Renown, the good of my Succeſſor, or that of my Enemies, whether the advan-

advancement of Peace or of the State: We may eaſily Judg and conclude it to be more Prudence to conceale what hath (in this caſe) been concealed, then to publiſh it to the World, in which reſpect I ſhall not eaſily change my reſolution. If mine Enemies ſhall continue obſtinate in their Crime, I ſhall not fail of other pretexts, whereby to puniſh them, if it ſo happen that they fall under my power. Their being in Rebellion is a Crime ſufficient to take away their lives, with Juſtice, without a farther accuſation of their being *Paricides* or *Regicides*: And if they be capable to correct themſelves, I ſhall exceedingly rejoyce to have extracted ſo fair an advantage out of their offence and my own ſilence. Moreover if they prove perſons of ſuch a condition and more Noble quality, who have attempted my life, without doubt I have proceeded judiciouſly, as not having diſcovered my intentions to either pardon or puniſh: Seeing that as yet they are not in my power; if the Conſpirators were men of the middle rank, it were then ſuperfluous to divulge their names, whoſe perſons are ſo obſcure as ſcarce known, and if they were men of the loweſt quality, it would reflect with too much diſhonor on Royal Majeſty, to deſcend to an exact diſcovery of ſuch low ſhrubbs, who like Bryers and Thornes have been bound up together in ſuch a black Conſpiracy. *He who keepeth the hearts of Kings in his own hands, reſerveth Lightning and Thunder in his own power, which he can let fall (when he pleaſeth) to their deſtruction who ſhall oppreſs their Prince. It is meet to refer ſome parts of Juſtice, to the God of Vengeance, and not to preſume on the exerciſe of all power he beſtoweth on us.* I ſay not this but with reſolution, that if the Authors of the Conſpiracy were in my hands, I ſhould ſeverely chaſtiſe them, yet not for their particular injury to my perſon, but for their impardonable crime againſt the King of *Caſtile*, which puniſhment were not only requiſite for the ſafety of my ſelf, but likewiſe of my ſucceſſors. So then, if they were in my preſent power, their puniſhments ſhould be as notorious and remarkable as their Crime; But ſeeing I am the only perſon alive, who can accuſe them, I ſhall forbear, and rather prevent (if I can) their evil deſignes: As for thoſe who ſhall continue obdurate and obſtinate, I ſhall be revenged on them otherwiſe, Taking pleaſure to pardon thoſe who do repent; And I value it not a little ſatisfaction to ſave and preſerve the Honor of ſo many great Families, and the lives of ſo many perſons, rejoycing at the Conqueſts of my own affections in this Provocation which renders to me no ſmall Victory.

In all other occaſions it is dangerous to have the Witneſs to be the Judg, but in this caſe it is moſt advantageous to my Enemies, that I alone can accuſe them of their Crimes, which if known, my ſecret could neither preſerve them nor me: I could not longer be Maſter of that particular, becauſe the Laws would importune my Juſtice. But ſeeing heaven is pleaſed, that he who revealed their crime is already dead, I ſhall only be the Arbitrator of their Deſtiny, and convert my power to no other ſervice then to afford means to amend, and reclaim them from their wicked courſe. It is true in this Conjuncture, that the Royal Authority which I have in my hands leads me nearer to the *Throne of God, who knows the moſt ſecret crimes of all hearts, but forbears to publiſh them. He brands not the wicked with particular Marks, but leaves to their Malice lockt up within the circle of their own hearts.* And it often

falls out, that *his terrible Judgments which cauſe us to tremble here, foretel thoſe great puniſhments which the wicked may for their reward expect hereafter.* Some ſay, *that ſecreſie is one of the moſt eſſential Attributes of the Divinity, and it is by it alone whereby it is preſented more adorable, and more venerable with men.* Do not admire then if I only be content to know my Enemies without their diſcovery; ſeeing I have learn this practiſe from God himſelf, who courteth us to his curteſies, as well as receives addreſſes from thoſe who he draws unto him; and whom he is ſo far from puniſhing, that he promotes not ſo much as a particular accuſation againſt them. Permit me then (moſt generous Count) permit me (I ſay) to leave the care of my revenge to him who beſt knows how to uſe it. If he pleaſe that my Enemies ſhall be converted out of ſhame, and ſelf confuſion, he can do it by wayes unknown to us. And as he hath given me power to be ſilent, he can force them to ſpeak, and accuſe each other then when they leaſt dream of it. Come on then, let us march and fight without accuſing them. Let us not impede, nor diſhonor the Victory at which we aym, in diſcovering them to be Paricides: Let us Act with Princely reſolution, and not longer defer our power Let us exerciſe our ſtrength that we may have occaſion to uſe our Clemency: And let us make the World ſee that it is far more glorious to conceal and conquer our ſecret adverſaries, then barely to pardon our declared Enemies.

The Cenſure.

IN the diverſity of opinions of ſeveral judgments, when I conſider this action of the King of Caſtile, *I confeſs I agree with him, and I acknowledge his Choice the better. There are ſome diſeaſes which are not curable but by gentle remedies, which (as the Phyſitians ſay) will prove more dangerous with application of Corroſives. When the body hath an arm or legg putrified, the Chirurgion may imploy his knife, or ſeare with fire, or cut off the rotten member to preſerve the reſt; but when the whole falls into an indiſpoſition, and that the more noble parts are infected, the Phyſitian and Chirurgion would not only be cenſured raſh, but mad, if they ſhould undertake to cure an infirmity or diſtemper above the force of Art and Nature, and which did almoſt require a Miracle to recover it.* It is not good to force an Enemy into deſpair, if a man have not abſolute power to deſtroy him. The extremity of peril (as this Prince ſaid) cauſeth often the greateſt Cowards to become deſperately valiant. And many, who would willingly make a fair retreat from miſchief, if they could aſſure themſelves of ſecurity by being unknown, reſolve to venture the worſt of hazards if diſcovered. *The Scripture counſelleth,* be ye wiſe as Serpents: *and if this Counſel be neceſſary to any, it is principally to Kings; The* Egyptians *in their* Hieroglyphicks *placed an eye on the top of their Scepter, to repreſent Providence, and to adviſe Kings in that Royal Emblem: This eye always open, taught them that they could not too carefully regard what they intended to Act;* The King of the Bees hath no ſting (*as the naturaliſts obſerve*) *which teacheth* Princes not to be tranſported with the violence of their paſſions. and to meditate rather on Clemency, as more natural, then on rigour which nature declines. *I know not whether thoſe who preſented Juſtice*

with

with a Ribband to blind her eyes have made a judicious piece: For my part I think the contrary, that ſhe ſees not too clear. I ſhould rather have given her Argus *eyes, then the blindneſs of* Oedipus, *or of* Tireſias, *if I had painted her; and in my opinion the* Lynx *ought not to ſee better then Kings, who hold the Sword of Juſtice in their hands: And for Princes to ſtrike when they cannot ſee, and to weigh in the Scales and not diſcern how the Beam turnes, are actions that can little ſatisfie, and relliſh not of any reaſon. I know Antiquity intended by this Ribband, that* Juſtice ought to be done without reſpect of perſons, *but it were better to preſent her as a Goddeſs, whoſe ſight nothing could obſtruct, and whoſe knowledg might whiſper into her hearers continually a caution to hinder unjuſt proceedings. It is neceſſary then that Kings permit not themſelves to be blinded with their paſſions: And they are naturally to weigh with the Scales of Judgment the things which they determine: And if their Sword be uſeful, it is no otherwiſe then as that of the Chirurgeons, they may reſcinde one member to ſave the reſt, not deſtroy the whole to cut off a part. But as it is now true, that I may make uſe of that Figure which* Rhetoricians *call* Tranſition, *and paſs from one ſubject to another, and ſo from Phyſitians and Chirurgeons to Diſeaſes and Cures; We ſhall leave the diſcourſe of* Don Henry, *and viſit a ſick Prince who became his own Phyſitian,* Don Sanche, *though he never had his health after he came to the Throne of* Caſtile (*equally afflicted by the evils of Fortune, and nature*) *yet at length, depoſed from his Throne, by the Injuſtice of his Enemies, he enjoyed healthful dayes. In this diſcourſe we ſhall examine whether he gained or loſt more by this ſtrange viciſſitude, and whether the condition of a private perſon in health, is preferrable to a Throne attended with continual ſickneſs.*

DON

DON SANCHE *to Count* GARCIA *of* CABRA.

I Acknowledg as well as you (moſt Generous Count) that this wanton Fortune, who hath removed me from a Kingdom, and reſtored my health (which I never enjoyed whilſt I poſſeſſed the Crown) muſt as neceſſarily work extraordinary alterations in my Soul, (Contraries never meeting but they effect ſomething) And with as much reaſon as ſhe hath raiſed wonder in yours: and a curioſity which (as I have obſerved) I ſhall rather ſatisfie then condemn. Will you then that I diſcover in what condition I find my Soul after ſo ſtrange an event? And whether the grief for what I have loſt, ſinks not deeper into my heart then the joy for the benefit that I have received by the Exchange? It is certain (to ſpeak the truth) that the Philoſophy of the Stoicks (which teacheth men to be without all Paſſion) is not ſufficient to reſtrain all grief in ſuch a ſtupendious alteration, as falling from a Royal Throne to the low condition of a private perſon: Yet it is true that a deſcent from the higheſt degree of honor and power, is leſs ingrate, and unpleaſant, and more tolerable to a rational mind, where the condition chiefly ſerveth for the recovery of health, which is a treaſure ſo pretious to be enjoyed with the leaſt diſguſt or regret, as being the chief comfort of mans life, and therefore moſt univerſally ſought after. All the advantages of Fortune and Nature have not ſo general an eſtimation. We find *ſome ambitious Souls have aſpired to, and uſurped Crowns and Scepters; others have refuſed theſe royal dignities, as places too precipitious, and too full of cares and troubles. Some torment themſelves with the gain of Riches, hazarding their lives to fill their bagges, which others* (as more wiſe) *do leſs regard and value. Glory with all its ſplendor is leſs regarded by perſons devoted to piety;* And *ſome as ſeriously ſhun thoſe gliſtering beams as others follow and adore them. In fine, Some look on a Throne as a high and dangerous Rock; on Riches as a bait to Vice; on Glory as a diſpoſition to pride, and vanity: Nay even Beauty (which ſeemes to be a beam of Divinity it ſelf) is looked on but as a great evil, when it is not accompanied with modeſty and virtue. But for health, it is a Jewel which is of the higheſt price with Prince and people, with Philoſophers and Fooles; never was there yet any perſon found which did not put an infinite valuation on her, above all concomitants of this life.* We meet with one ſort of Philoſophers who had the impudency to affirm, *that there was effectively no ſuch thing as grief.* But without doubt the ſame

Phiſopher

Philoſopher when he loſt his health, had his Principles ſhaken, and his content and joy were changed into grief and ſadneſs, In the mean time (to ſatisfie you more amply) you are not to conſider me meerly as a King, but as a private perſon to whom a birth and death is equally common with the meaneſt of my ſubjects; in which capacity our reſentments are the ſame. It is true, in relation to our divine Character (which is inſeparable from Royalty) we are far above them. But in reſpect of God, and our ſelves, we are ſometimes their equals, and may be their inferiors. We participate with them of all the infirmities of life, and as we enjoy the ſame Sun and Elements in common, ſo we have not other Armes then they to guard us from humane paſſions, and the debilities of Nature. Guards of faithful Subjects may defend their Prince from the Treaſon of a Paricide, but an Army of thirty thouſand men cannot hinder the ſtroak of death, nor one fit of a Feaver: Death will enter the ſtatelieſt and ſtrongeſt Palace (without reſiſtance) when ſhe pleaſeth; and the moſt beautiful, and magnificent glory cannot aſſwage the leaſt pain or anguiſh: Diadems, Purple, and Crowns are unſerviceable ornaments to cure the diſeaſes of the body: And I have found my ſelf often in a Princely Palace, in a magnifick Chamber, lying in a bed glittering all with gold, environ'd with the Grandees of my Kingdom, where all my attendance deſigned nothing elſe but my diverſions and eaſe: When in the midſt of all theſe ſeeming contents, I judged my ſelf the moſt miſerable of all men, envying the health of the meaneſt of my ſubjects: Death which I have often contemned in the midſt of battailes, in this condition looked grim and formidable: And when I could neither fight nor retreat, give battail, or reſiſt the Enemy; I found that I was as well a man as a King; and (upon juſt conſultations with my ſelf) that *it was very difficult to be a ſick Patient, and a ſound Politician, to govern the people, being perſonally weak, and in a great diſorder; and not to be exceeding miſerable when all pleaſures had a bitter reliſh. Death (as terrible as ſhe is) will command and make Kings and Subjects equal, her buſineſs being to level all alike.* But in this caſe Kings are not only afflicted as other men being ſick, but more unfortunate. The chiefeſt point then (in this condition) is to ſeek after health, which is interrupted by Secretaries, who interrupt every minute of repoſe, and perſecute with multitude of affairs, as well as Phyſicians with preſcriptions of various remedies. The deprivation of pleaſure and augmentation of pain are equally tormenting. A ſick Prince judgeth by the countenance of his Viſitors the variety of all their humors, which rather encreaſeth then allayeth his paſſion; he readeth their deſires in their faces. Some for their own ends fear his death, and others wiſh it: In this ſad condition he is more unfortunate then any of his Subjects, as not enjoying any pleaſure of a King. The higher he is advanced and elevated on the Throne, the greater muſt his deſires be: The Crown ſeems too heavy, yet he cannot when he pleaſeth quit that burthen; the Scepter too ponderous for his feeble hand, and his affairs permit him not honorably to part with what he cannot hold but painfully. In this quality he is willing to act, but cannot; to reign, but is made incapable. In theſe impoſſible contrarities he can eaſily judg what is the greateſt affliction can arrive to a King, and that is to be deprived of health. For imagine with you ſelves to what a deplorable extremity is a

Prince reduced, when a Counſellor ſhall tell him (being ſick and ſad with pain) that his Subjects have revolted, that his Neighbour Princes have invaded his Territories, that his General hath loſt the Battel, that many of his Townes have ſurrendred themſelves to the Enemy, that a pannick terror hath ſeized upon his people, that his Troopes have disbanded for want of a chief Commander, that a puiſſant Army is on their march to beſiedge him, that his *Allyes* keep not their faith, and that within a few daies (before he could remove) he ſhould here the noiſe of the Canons playing before his Gates, that his Palace ſhall become his priſon, and that notwithſtanding his ſickneſs gives him neither free choice of life or death, he ſhall yet fall into a lower extremity of miſery, and be reduced to the power and pleaſure of his Enemy: Tell me (Noble *Garcia*) if a Crown in ſuch a condition be deſirable; and Royalty (though never ſo magnificent) to be valued at ſuch a rate and degree worthy of envy? *All thoſe who are ambitious to be Kings are not* (doubtleſs) *without the paſſion of deſiring glory mixt with pleaſure*, but of what glory or pleaſure is that Prince capable whoſe conſtant buſineſs is to ſupport his infirmities? And who inſtead of the delights of a Crown cannot enjoy a moment of repoſe? If the Prince be evil, it is not poſſible but a remorſe for his crimes muſt intermixe with his Maladies to increaſe his torments: If he be good and virtuous, it is impoſſible but that he ſhall be afflicted, being incapable to act in his Kingly office for the repoſe and conſervation of his people: At leaſt I know well, during this languiſhing condition, being on the Throne, nothing can be more inſupportable then to underſtand that, that ſickneſs is the infirmity of the State; and that I ſuffer not a ſingle pain, but that the diſeaſe becomes contageous to all the ſubjects. It is true theſe griefs of body which daily obſcure the light of my underſtanding, (if I may reaſon without prejudice to former paſſages) I confeſs freely are not only inſupportable to my ſelf, but to all my affairs, and it may be cenſured a fault, that finding my ſelf unfit to Reign, I did not chooſe to govern by the aſſiſtance and nomination of my Succeſſor: but the jealouſie which ordinarily attendeth Soveraign authority, prevailed with me in my reſolutions, not to nominate that to him, whom I feared as more worthy: I rather choſe to ſupport a Scepter with a feeble and trembling hand, then admit of a Coadjutor, and to ſuffer that to be taken from me rather by violence, then to be ecclipſed by a ſuper officious-aſſiſtant, who would convert my Soveraignty intirely to his own ſervice and ſplendor. Lo (moſt Noble Count) the crime for which I am culpable, and ſuch a one as all Kings ought to avoyd who are rendered uncapable to reign by their diſeaſes, or who ſhall find themſelves imperfect through their own infirmities: For a Prince (whom ſuch evils do obſtruct; or who through that leſſer Talent which God hath given him for the conduct of the people, is not able to diſcharge that high office with honor) is reſponſible before God for all the evils which may happen through his defective Government, or at leaſt if he chooſe not an able Miniſter of State who may ſupply a remedy in theſe great failings: And it is for that reaſon (without doubt) that Princes are obliged, whether they be ſick or well, of ſtronger or weaker judgements, to have ever near them faithful and wiſe Counſellors, to whom they may communicate a beam of their power, to that end that it may not

fail

fail. That if the Princes be weak, their judgement may ſupport them, and if not, that they may refreſh them, and ſo contribute ſome leaſure for their repoſe, after their grand agitations, in ſuch great concernment. *God (whoſe Image are Kings) Acts not always by his judgments, or thoſe terrible means, which ſeem more directly and ſuddainly to fall from his hand.* Thoſe violent plagues which deſolate whole Countrys, come not every Year; God imployes not always his Thunderclaps, nor Famine, nor dreadful Earthquakes, which ſhake the foundation of the World: Such puniſhments (being very heavy) arrive but rarely. He ſerves himſelf ſometimes with Princes, whom he commands to wage a War, againſt thoſe whom he pleaſeth to prove or puniſh; And then (when he pleaſeth alſo) to be propitious to a people or Country, he doth not always ſhew his mercy in cauſing *Manna* to rain on them, or manifeſt himſelf by miracles. He pleaſeth himſelf ſometimes to ſend vertuous Princes, appointing them to be the diſtributors of his Bleſſings, as (on other occaſions) he directs them to be the Executioners of his Juſtice. Let Princes therefore ceaſe to be jealous of their Authority; And ſince God (without any obligation) is pleaſed to uſe them as his inſtruments, let them not ſcorn (eſpecially ſince their own neceſſities and concernments oblige them to it) to make uſe of Faithful Miniſters, who are the abſolute foundation of Thrones and Kingdoms. For thoſe Princes who are ſo fortunate as to meet with them, (of this glorious quality) may defie Fortune and diſeaſes, and not fear the confuſion of their Kingdom, when they languiſh on their Couches. It is good for a King to reſemble the Sun whoſe office is to inlighten all the univerſe; Yet this Noble imployment (which the Creator hath given him) doth not make the illuſtrious Creature jealous of the beams and beauty of other ſtars, which in their ſeveral Spheares of their Activity diſtribute their Light which they have received, as well, though not as bright as that great eye of the World. Yet is there a diſtinction to be allowed betwixt the chief Miniſter which the Prince chooſeth, and another which aſpireth to that truſt (moved by his own ambitious deſires) the firſt is like a fixed Star, the other as a blazing Comet, which at preſent, caſteth a ſtupendious and mervailous light, but the flame borrowed from a wrong Source, is exſtinguiſht in a moment; On the contrary the fixed Star which is luminous, retaines its ſplendor and brightneſs as long as the Original Light ſhall impart his beams unto it. Things thus ſtated, one may ſay, that the Pomp and Glory, which the Sun receives, when he is ſet, (when in the night we ſee the Heavens adorned with radiant Starrs) the Prince, when the beames of his active power are obſcured with ſickneſs, enjoyeth; though he do not Act in his own perſon, but by thoſe to whom he hath communicated the Rayes of his power; And in them he ſtill retaineth his Grandure and Honor: But alas, I conſidered not the depth of this Policy, until I had loſt my Kingdom; And after I was rendred into a conditi on to be able to do nothing elſe, but examin my ſelf whether I ſhould be more happy in my health without a Crown, or elſe ſhould continue a ſick and languiſhing Prince. I am aſſured (Generous Count) by this diſcourſe that you can eaſily Judg, that the Crown which I wore was platted with Thornes; And if I ſhould grudg at my loſs, it is not for the deprivation of thoſe pleaſures I have received. Yet if I had

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loſt it after the defeat of a battail, if I had then met with this ſad ſatisfaction, to make mine Enemies ſee (in my couragious defence) that I had deſerved to were it; And that though they gained the Victory, it was becauſe they were more fortunate, and not more Valiant then I; ſome matter might have been found for my Conſolation. But to have languiſhed ſo long a time as you have known me, incapable of the pleaſure of peace, and conſtrained to quit the War, becauſe not able to be in the head of my Armies, and to ſee my ſelf ſtript of the Crown and Scepter without a defenſive power, to guard thoſe Emblems of Royalty; This conſideration affecteth me with grief and pain unſupportable. If I were in an active condition, it may be ſome ſignal occaſion might make me fortunate ſo far, as to provoke mine Enemies valour by mine own, and to oblige them to force me to hazard and looſe my life gloriouſly. But the infirmities of my body have made me unfit to Reign, and almoſt to live: and nothing but a prodigious accident can recover my health after that I have loſt all things that are dear to me. I ſhall now relate to you with what joy I have ſeen this civil War of my body to ceaſe, which continued my grief for ſo long a time. It will not prove ſo eaſie for me to deſcribe to you the regret I had in the loſs of mine eſtate, if you had not been an eye witneſs of what I ſuffered. Imagine then your ſelf, by thoſe troubles I endured, what repoſe and tranquillity I now poſſeſs. Not but that I eaſily believe that the continuation of health may abate much of this high content and joy which I now feel; Nor that an accuſtomed ſubjection will not in time make me forget my being King. But really if I ſhould be reſtored to the Crown with the attendance of my infirmity, I ſhould not accept it; more valuing health without a Crown, then to be an infirm King unable to Reign. Tis true, ambition is ſweet, and that nothing is more difficult, then for a King to make his Subjects his Peers. But when I ſhall be as inſenſible as a Statue through the violence of my diſeaſes; the intereſt of the people and Chriſtian Policy would teach me to Refuſe that Crown which would as much prejudice them, as it would diſhonor my ſelf. The Ambitious may object, that it is a great loſs, to be deprived of a Crown; But to that I anſwer, it is no great advantage to bear it without honor, and to have no Fruits, but diſtemper in ſuch eminent dignity. They will ſay, that the torture of the body may be born up, by the ſatisfaction of the mind; But I anſwer to the contrary, that the pureſt contemplations of the Soul are troubled by the indiſpoſition of the Body. There is a bond of nature which ſo ſtrictly unites both parties, that nothing can divide their intereſt, and, if at any time there be any difference, there is much more from the indiſpoſition of the body, then from the diſſatisfaction of the mind. How many great and noble Souls have we ſeen ſo reſolved, that the moſt violent oppoſitions could not ſhake into diſorder, and their vexations ſo moderated, as not to diſtemper their health to an alteration? Many have loſt their Children who have never chang'd their countenance, and good or bad Fortune hath not prevailed againſt their compoſure, becauſe their reaſon was not diſturbed. But as for Corporal pain, when it is ſuch, as the Phyſitian cannot eaſe nor cure with all his art; It muſt needs operate and have ſuch an influence upon the Soul, as if it give her not an abſolute diſtemper, it will (at laſt) ſhrewdly ſhake the

the Patient. Servitude, Poverty, and Infamy, are more tollerable; but for extremities of pain, they infallibly baniſh all pleaſure and joy. Love, Ambition, Glory, can yeild no peaceable ſatisfaction to a ſick perſon; and though the Soul be the more noble part, yet in ſuch violent fits, no other vertue hath its operation, but Patience. And how imperially ſoever the Soul may brag of her Superiour excellency; There reſts nothing to be acted (on ſuch occaſions) but what are the effects of that vertue. Corporal pain ariſeth from a natural or accidental infirmity in man, but the vexations and anxieties of the mind, are voluntary and meerly depend on the will. Soveraignty not Royally managed, is a ſupreme diſgrace, and to have a Scepter which he cannot ſway, is as if a Souldier wear a ſword and cannot draw it. Policy which ſupporteth Kingdoms is but a bad Phyſitian, and cares which attend them are not Remedies and applications for the recovery of health. Mortality is but a weak Comforter; And as for the Jewel of health, it is not ſo much priſed as it ought; all other things are attended with ſome inquietude, as Riches, Honor, Power, Ambition is inflamed with new deſires, Love is attended with Jealouſie, care watcheth the Rich mens Gates, who have more vexation in their Poſſeſſion then content and ſatisfaction; health alone is obſerved ordinarily with leaſt ſolicitude and obſervation. Yet to conclude (as one able to judg, out of a long languiſhing experience) I cannot but preſer health above a Scepter, the one cauſing me ever to ſweat or ſigh, the other rendring me cheerful and pleaſant, though never ſo low. Ask me not then (Noble Count) whether choice I better approve, ſeeing the Memory of thoſe our cryes paſſed, force me to praiſe God for a more comfortable alteration.

The Cenſure.

IT *is an ancient* Aphoriſm, *that* If a man did but know the weightineſs of a Crown, he would not ſo much as take it up, though he found it in his way. *If this opinion be true, even in thoſe who merit well, and are in health; it is no leſs for* Princes *that are indiſpoſed: As the gifts of Nature are more excellent then thoſe of Fortune, ſo are they by every well regulated Soul preferred before them; nor are the greateſt advantages of a Crown to be put into the ballance with the miſeries that attend them. The Diadem, the Scepter, the Crown, the Throne, are glorious objects which tickle, and ſweetly pleaſe the imagination:* But when the torments of the Gout, the Colick, and the extreamities of other diſeaſes, wholly poſſeſs the Patient, and are placed in oppoſition to thoſe glorious and lighter Fancies, a healthful Slave is far more happy then a royal King. *In the midſt of ſuch Grandeur, Princes ſeated in ſuch a condition (though never ſo illuſtrious) are like* Tantalus, *who in their abundance are not admitted to taſt of any thing that may yeild them eaſe, or content: So that what ſhould raiſe their felicity encreaſeth their puniſhment, being yet more miſerable that they can command all things, but nothing to their proper uſe; when the pain they ſuffer mixeth gall and bitterneſs with all ſweet appearances of their Scepters. The Gout and Stone confute the* Stoicks, *who deny all pain and paſſion: And I am of opinion, that a King (though never ſo magnificent)*

is deprived of all earthly comforts or enjoyments, ſuffering under the extremities of a diſeaſe. I cannot but compare the condition of ſick Princes to thoſe direful Scaffolds which are richly cover'd with black Velvet, and (for greater ſtate) have the ſplendor of Torches to conduct a Prince to his execution: This funeral pomp imprints ſome reſpect of his misfortune to all ſpectators, but they do not attenuate his miſeries. It is thus with the magnificence of Princes, it ſeemes to flouriſh, and cauſeth admiration, it attracteth reverence, but all this glory is not ſufficient to render him a happy man who is ſick King, though he were the Emperor of all the Univerſe. Grandure can have no more then the effects of Dormant and Narcotique *remedies; ſome intermiſſive moments of ſleep may ſuſpend, but cannot heal the violence of the diſeaſe, which will return, in its Courſe. How unfortunate then is a Prince who in great conjunctures of Affairs, hath ſcarce leaſure to be ſick, though he cannot meet with one minute wherein he is ſenſible of health; He bears a burthen ſo great, that it would cauſe* Atlas *to yeild, whilſt he finds himſelf dayly growing weak, and his ſpirits every minute decaying; His occaſions call him to every part, but his diſeaſes oblige him conſtantly to his bed, and whereas he ought to ſee and ſeek about to order and Command, inſtead of theſe royal imployments, he is able to do nothing but complain. He is (in fine) in this condition, a meer object of pitty or ſcorne; where he ought to appear awful and formidable; and therefore I conclude that* Don Sanche *had reaſon to prefer his health above his Crown, and to conſolate himſelf in the loſs of the one, by the conſideration of the Importance of the other.* A King ought to dye ſtanding on his feet, *was the ſpeech of a Royal Prince, and certainly if he ought to be found dying in this poſture, much more ought he to appear ſo living; ſince that* without health Kings are not eaſily obeyed, nor can their Reign be happy. *We find ſome generalls who have gained battailes in their Litters: but I think we have not read of any Monarchs who have raigned glorioufly on their bedds, unleſs it be thoſe bedds of Juſtice, where Majeſty, not Maladies appear. Kings in their Thrones are as that univerſal ſpirit which the* Greeks *called* Endelechia. *If their influence be not over all their Dominions, all goes ill, and if they be ſick, all parts preſently grow diſtempered. But let us leave now the Kings of* Caſtile, *and direct our diſcourſe to a King of* Portugal. *It may be the ambitious will judg it no leſs a Paradox then that of* Don Sanche, *and that they will believe him as ſick in mind as the other was in body. But I conceive judicious perſons will not be of their opinion; and that true policy will condemn their errors.* Emanuel the Firſt *leavied a moſt puiſſant Army, with a deſign to paſs into* Affrica, *where Victory ſeemed to attend him: when as being upon his march, and juſt ready to tranſpere his Army over thoſe ſtreights which divide* Spain *and* Mauritania; *The* Venetians *diſpatcht* Embaſſadors *to intreat ſuccors from him as their Ally, againſt the* Turk, *who had now declared War againſt them. This generous* Prince *reſolutely ſuſpended his hopes of* Conqueſt *to aſſiſt his antient Friends, ſuddainly altered his deſign, and ſent his Army intirely to them, deferring his enterpriſe to* Algiers *to another ſeaſon. See here the reaſons which obliged this illuſtrious* Prince *to his reſolution, and the true Motives of ſo glorious an Action.*

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EMANVELL to JOHN DEMENESAIS.

I Am not ignorant (*Menesais*) that the design of Conquests is as natural in Kings, as life it self in other men: Yet I likewise know that *Glory* ought not to be the only object of their sublime passion: And if they Judg it as proper to succour and assist their Allyes, as to create new subjects; Then the quality of Protectors is as honorable as the Titles of *Conquerors*. It is in this noble resentment that I have changed my resolution: And though I have ingaged the greatest part of my Grandees into Armes, and covered the Sea with Ships, with a design to extend my Dominions over all *Barbary*: I am (this day) otherwise resolved to succour the *Venetians*, and not farther to intend my designed Conquests. But have you well examined the matter? (you may tell me in this occasion) It may be, the sad Complaints of your *Allyes* have surprised your thoughts; whereas had you pursued your own inclinations, or followed the heat of your own ambitions; You had not then quitted your former design to take up another, which (probably) will not increase but diminish your subjects with a disadvantage as unprofitable as dangerous. No (*Menesais*) I took not up this resolution in a tumult of passions, but have most seriously examined the reasons and inforcements to this alteration. And after a more solemn debate, I find that *Justice*, *Generosity*, *Wisdom*, and true *Renown*, have possessed my heart, and prevailed with me, in this perswasion, to invite me to act as I have undertaken. I do avow withal, that these mighty Forces, which I have raised (though very formidable) have not so elevated my hopes to new *Conquests*, as my desires inflame me to defend my *Allyes*, though I might with greater ease have subdued the *Barbars*, then have protected the *Christians*. It is most true, the endeavour of Conquests is an honorable ambition, very active in the hearts of all high born generous *Princes*. And as the first Kings began their *Raigns*, and *inlarged* their *Dominion* by their *Conquests*, and have derived them on the People and Subject: There seems a kind of *Noble Princelike* necessity to oblige them to a Correspondency of their first honorable Commencements. So that (in some degree) both of wisedom and Policy) *Princes* are bound to expatiate the *Grandure* of their *Territories* and *Dominions*: And it could not but reflect as an indignity, and some dishonor to *Successors*, to confine themselves within the limits

limits of their *Anceſtors.* The alterations, and Signal changes (diſcernable in all Hiſtorys) ſeem to Authorize what is here affirmed. And the ſucceſſes of Ages (which have ſeen the Ruins of ſo many *Monarchies*, and *Empires*) witneſs to theſe times, the great numbers of *Conquerors* which have appeared in all Ages; ſo that the *Aſſyrians*, the *Perſians*, and the *Parthians*, the *Greeks*, the *Romans*, advanced not their names, nor inlarged their Dominations but by *Conqueſts*; and (at laſt) were not deſtroyed but by the ſame means that they were eſtabliſhed: The fall of one *Empire* ever giving occaſion to the riſe of another; whilſt in the great conjuncture of all diſorders, it may be ſaid, that either *Princes* became *Tyrants*, and were oppreſſors, or *Subjects* became *Rebels* and traiterouſly oppreſſed their Soveraigns: And in all Ages paſt, the ambition of *Conqueſts* hath been the moſt violent paſſion in all minds which have aymed at *Soveraignty.* Subjects are of more confined qualities, limited with proportions amongſt their neighbors, inſlaved to Laws, and limited to ſome certain parcels, deſcending to them as their Fathers heirs, to exceed which, were as much danger as Injuſtice. But *Soveraigns* are confined, and their uſurpations more tolerable and innocent, becauſe of their eminent and high degree above other men; and their proximity to *ſupernal* and cœleſtial power. We declare then (noble *Meneſais*) that it is not for petty conſiderations that we preſer the title of *Protector* above that of *Conqueror*. And though Princes are ranked as higheſt in quality, and ſo above all others; yet they are not (being Chriſtians) ſo much to regard their ambition as Juſtice. As for titles, and even thoſe which ſeem derived from the Princes greateſt virtues, the ſubjects challenge a communication of them; and they will diſpute, that *JUST* is an Epethite as well belonging to a Magiſtrate as a Royal Prince; that *VALIANT* belongs as well to a private Souldier as to the *Emperor*: All the virtues are as habitable, and as content to dwell with the meaneſt Subject as the mightieſt *Monarch*; and 'tis true, that all United cannot let forth the Majeſty and ſplendor of a *Soveraign*; he who ſays one is *juſt*, concludes not neceſſarily that he is a *King*, or that one who is *Valiant* muſt needs be a *Monarch*; but he who ſaith he is a *Conqueror*, concludes that title which can only belong to an Illuſtrious Prince. The power of the Sword which protecteth or puniſheth, is only reſerved in their hands who are inveſted with ſupream Authority; Subjects are not to tranſgreſs the Landmarks of their Neighbors; they are Slaves to Laws, and confin'd to the inheritance and patrimony of their Fathers; the *Prince* alone hath liberty (with innocency more excuſable) to inlarge his Territories. This interprize then is not grounded on ſlender conſiderations, that I ſuſpend the poſſibility of the title of *Conqueror* to merit that of *Protector*; and though the great ſplendor of that high quality hath inflam'd the Illuſtrious Heroes of antiquity, and leſſened their dangers through their ambitious deſires, yet a Chriſtian Prince ought not ſo much to aym and attend on his ambition, as to incline to Juſtice: So then, that which was permitted to the Valour of *Alexander*, is here defended by the courage of *Emanuell*. Our Policy excludes not any other particular virtues from our Souls, but ſo, that in all our enterpriſes we ought to be equitable, and ſeverely to baniſh Injuſtice. Which Concluſion admitted, it was now much more proper to ſuccour my *Allyes*, then to endeavour a ſubjection of the *Barbares*: For as

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it is with all men in general, who live in a civil ſociety, that a mutual interchange of good offices is neceſſary amongſt them; ſo it is between *Princes* and *States*, and their *Allies*; a common Intereſt obligeth them to oppoſe the Enemies of their Allies, as well as their own; and not to ſuffer thoſe with whom they have made an undoubted amity, to be devoured by the War, or to forſake them at the approach of danger and peril. You doubt not (*Meneſais*) but after the compleat Equipage of this mighty royal Navy, if I ſhould have received advice, that ſome of my Neighbour *Princes* had invaded me, I ſhould quickly have ſteered another courſe: And why then ſhall not the Intereſt of my Allies do the ſame thing, ſeeing that I am no leſs obliged to their defence then to my own? The ſacred alliance which is amongſt *Princes* cannot be violated without injury to the rights and Laws of Nations; and it were moſt unjuſt in me to expect ſuccours from them to whom I did not intend any. Princes ought not to promiſe amity, and after to forfeit their ſacred words with fraud, and infidelity; and being able to relieve, they cannot (with honor) leave their friends to the fury of their Enemies, and the haters of all Chriſtianity. It is true, *it is a great glory to conquer, but it is more honorable and neceſſary to keep a royal promiſe inviolable and ſacred. It is no diſhonor to attempt a Conqueſt, though it be not obtained: But a man can never violate his word and promiſe without the blemiſh of baſeneſs and falſhood; an act ſo unworthy of a Prince, that he ought to deteſt it above all things.* For if he fail in his Fidelity to his Allies; what doth he but teach his Subjects to be as falſe and fraudulent as himſelf. And I confeſs as Juſtice pleads with me for the *Venetians*; ſo Generoſity and Nobleneſs prevails with me to accord to their humble requeſts: For (with your good favour) tell me with what reſolution could our Army march to ſubdue ſtrangers, if we had refuſed aſſiſtance where there was ſo great neceſſity of ayd, and ſuch eminent peril of the ruin of our friends? Should it be ſaid, that I marched further from an Enemy into other parts, becauſe he came nearer towards our Allies; Or that I durſt not engage my Forces, as if thoſe of the Enemys were too formidable; Am I a Neighbour at ſuch diſtance that I cannot ſuccour ſpeedily in the acceſs of their greateſt calamities; Doth it concern me, that I endeavour to pillage *Alcaſſarquiber* becauſe *Bajazet* intends to pillage *Venice* with his Army? all theſe arguments are unworthy a *Chriſtian Prince*, who aſpires after the quality of Juſtice, as well as that of Conqueror. *Noble minds are not only obliged to endeavour the Victories of Towns, Provinces, and Kingdoms, but they are likewiſe to gain the peoples hearts, and thereby obtain an univerſal approbation, which will convert tumults to concords, and raiſe glorious acclamations reſounding to their honor who know to merit them.* And what action do you imagine can be ſo capable to render a *Crown* immortal, as that which relieves a *Republick of Chriſtians* terrified with an Army of more then *one hundred thouſand Turks*? Upon all other occaſions, when a Prince is engaged in War, he cannot expect Honor and commendations from all the World: For as for thoſe whom he invadeth, they will ſtile him an Uſurper, his Neighbour Princes will cenſure his ambition, and rather be ſpectators of his ſucceſſes, then be ſupplyers; and according to event they will ſpeak in fear or flattery. But in ſuch an action as this, no ill cenſure can ſucceed. Thoſe who are intereſted will eſtimate us as their *Liberators*; other

Kings will behold us far more eminent for our *fortune*, or more ſurpaſſant for our *virtue* and *valour*: and *Bajazet* himſelf (though an Enemy) cannot leſs eſteem us. And truly to relieve the opreſſed and feeble reſiſtants, being our Allies, is a far more generous action, then to abaſe a puiſſant and formidable Enemy. Is it not true (*Meneſais*) that if in your journey you ſhall meet with one man aſſaulted by three or four, and that he ſhould cry out for your aſſiſtance (though he were a ſtranger, and your buſineſs urgent) could you refuſe to ſtay, or aſſiſt him? ought not the ſame nobleneſs of mind be in a *King* which is uſual in every private perſon out of the rules of humanity, and natural compaſſion? Should I then leave mine Allies in their extremity to be a prey to the fury of an Enemy? This undertaking preſents a double reward to the Noble undertaker; the one is, ſuſtentation of the feeble; the other is, the ſuppreſſion of the mighty: And (if Heaven pleaſe) he ſhall repel the one with as much ſhame, as gain of glory to his own endeavours. I may add moreover, that *Juſtice and Generoſity united, are the moſt Royal virtues, the ſureſt ſupporters, and the wiſeſt Counſellors of a King*. Some other Rules of Policy may pretend to be the ſole guides, as inſtructing them whether to make Peace or War, and to give orders to all their actions. It is confeſt that Policy is the royal Science, and compaſſeth her ends in great undertakings, but her Maxims are dangerous for them who have not righteous intentions. Policy is like love, which changeth her form according to their receptions who entertain her. *She proves unjuſt in a jealous preoccupated ſpirit, ſhe becomes furious in the violent, ſhe appeareth baſe and cowardly in a perſon of leſs intereſt, but ſhe is always reaſonable in a noble and generous mind. In whatſoever dreſs ſhe's found, ſhe courteth her expedients, and flatters thoſe with whom ſhe conſulteth to give a colour and varniſh to her deſigns.* Yet in this conjuncture of affairs ſhe cannot diſſwade me from aiding the *Venetians*, who, were they ruined, what advantage ſhould I get, or what danger incur? I know well the *Turks* are ſo remote in diſtance, that I cannot rationally fear the Enemies Invaſion can extend as far as my Kingdom. But it is the Intereſt of all Chriſtian Princes to repel the Forces of the *Turk*, who is already too puiſſant over Chriſtendom; and all Kings ought deeply to reſent an oppoſition of the *Grand Seigniors* Forces, who is daily inriched with the ſpoyles and plunder of Chriſtians: His unlimited ambition aiming at the deſtruction of all Kingdoms, and aſpiring to eſtabliſh an univerſal Empire and Monarchy. It is not only for the *Venetians* ſakes that mine Armys ſhall march, but as I look on their Enemy as the Enemy of all the Chriſtian world. If all Princes were ſo prudent as they ought to be, they would not think that the *Venetians* were firſt undertaken, becauſe they were more hateful to the Turks then others, but it is to make a paſſage by them to further extenſions, to leave no Enemy in the rear to march after, and ſo to flank or offend. In this deſign then all other Chriſtian Kings have their common Intereſt, though I (at preſent) be more active, and more ready in preparation then others. You know (*Meneſais*) when Kings make great preparations for War, they alarum their neighbours Princes to Arms, leſt they ſhould be ſurpriſed, leſt the publick Faith ſhould not prove ſufficiently puiſſant to aſſure and to remove all fears and jealouſies. It being ſo then that all Chriſtian Princes know how that *Bajazet* hath levied an Army of 100000 *men*, why have they not armed themſelves as well as

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he for their Conſervation? If they can be ſo ſtupid as to be falſe to their *Allies*, or careleſs of their brethren and *Chriſtians*. In the mean time I ſhall oppoſe theſe numerous Forces, though I march alone: And by conſequence I alone ſhall be charged with the ſucceſs of this War: Who had I refuſed, the *Venetians* might have been juſtly condemned by other Princes, who ſhadowing their excuſes with pretences and accuſations of their neighbours might ſay, had they been in the ſame poſture as I, they would have done no leſs. Now as *the event of War is ever ambiguous*, if in ſtead of Conquering *Barbary*, I ſhould miſcarry in this enterpriſe, with what Clouds of ſhame ſhall I be obſcured? From the Honor of a *Conqueror* I may be reduced to be a *Priſoner*. From the hopes of being a *Protector* I may be rendred a *Captive*, and inſtead of the Garland of Glory be rewarded with the brand of infamy; my Friends and mine Enemies might equally ſcorn me, becauſe I provoked the one and the other, my diſcretion would be in queſtion, preferring an uncertain before an aſſured path to true honor. For there is this infallible difference betwixt the deſignes of *Conqueſt* and aſſiſtance to *Allies*: The firſt cannot be glorious but with a victorious ſucceſs of War, but the other of it ſelf is natively honourable, and from thence ſprings a Fountain of reputation, though the event prove not ſo Fortunate. I know well that all who promiſe to be *Protectors* of their *Allies*, are not ever their *Liberators* in their neceſſity. But though their *Allies* be Vanquiſhed, and thoſe who ſtrive to aſſiſt them, yet their misfortune is honorable, and that reward followes their memory, that they ſhare of their danger only, not of their diſgrace. And though the *Allies* and their aſſiſtants have a joynt defeat, their miſeries may deprive them of their lives or liberties; but they are ſtill faithful friends, having gained a generous reputation in uſing their beſt and utmoſt endeavours. If then I prefer my March to *Venice*, before my voyage to *Affrica*, I have not done leſs honorable; for if I ſhould have been invaded by mine Enemies, of whom ſhould I have expected ſuccours in the like condition; Of what danger might this reſolution have proved; If I had forſaken the *Venetians*, and expoſed to the fury of the *Turks*, thoſe who are a people that adore the ſame *God* with us; And at the feet of his Altars might pour out innocent imprecations againſt us for our refuſal; What might my ſubjects think if I ſhould not compaſſionate their Condition? Might not they object, that if the intereſt of Religion did not oblige me to my duty, that they might ſhake off theirs out of the ſame reſpect? It might be that ſome of our *Provinces* poſſeſſed with *Rebellion*, might take example from my ſelf, and neglect and forſake me, as I might my *Allies*. Perhaps my deſign of Conqueſt of other Countries might prove the occaſion of loſing mine own Royal Inheritance, and the abandoning my *Allies* in their extremities, and a diſhonorable violation of the lawes of Nations, might raiſe a provocation in all Neighbour Princes againſt my perſon; And (my abſence removing their fears) might perſwade them to invade a part of (if not all) my Kingdom. For *when Kings do leavy Armys, and intend to wage War, they always frame a pretence and reaſon for their martial Comportments, in which deſign common Policy never faileth, and where envy is the Counſellor, infinite malicious pretences are never wanting.* This righly conſidered, a ſage previſion finds it better to commit a hundred things unprofitable, then to perpetrate

petrate one act injurious and offensive to an Equal. And 'tis true, the removal of an injurious pretence from a Prince, might occasion the diversion of an Army, which might have been levied against those who had not kept Faith with their Allies. *All the great revolutions which have arrived in Kingdoms and Empires, have had but petty and small Commencements. And uncertain Policy hath no such grounded rules as to assure any security*; For when she hath laboured most, and promised to warrant an estate from a puissant Enemy, and that nothing without, or within, should trouble or shake the foundations of a Kingdom; we find *from what little sparks mighty flames have thriven.* Perhaps the love of a woman, or a subject of a mean quality made a favourite, or some sharp resentment, sometimes a misprision or mistake hath set division amongst the Nobles; that dissention hath generated hatred and envy, that envy hath introduced revolt, these revolts leavied Armes, and made War, and that War destroyed the *Kingdom. That is*, then *true Policy, and infallible, when all things are foreseen, that need Prevention.* But to speak clearly, such an impossibility can never arrive, and the profoundest Politician cannot prevent the Contingency of strange Events. In observation then to what hath been presupposed, I have judged it necessary to wave my Voyage into *Barbary*, and to march toward *Venice*: The undertaking of this latter enterprise presents no greater inconvenience then a deferring of our design for *Affrick* for some farther time: and the entertaining of this occasion may happily secure my own Dominions from a Civil War, or forraign invasion. You see then that *Generosity, Justice* to my promise, and *Policy* hath obliged me to this election. And as for *Renown* and *Glory* which perswadeth *the most impetuous passion*, and is *a most Soveraign Mistris with all great Princes*, see how she yeilds, and gives way to my rational choice; Consenting that although I took up armes with a design of *Conquest*, she suffers, or rather inspires my resolution, to relieve and succor an oppressed People. *Honor* (my *Menesais*) *is not only the Mistress of vertuous Men; But hath likewise a particular priviledge to convert all things to their advantage, who serve her. Courage without Armes is utterly unserviceable, liberality without Riches cannot be distinguished well from avarice*; And *all the vertues in their paticular Consistencies have their singular objects to manifest their effects in those who are habituated with them*: But *true glory secures it self sufficient in all conditions. She is in an equal valuation, whether in the Throne or in a Prison; her Triumphs and her sufferings do both serve to her renown, whereseever she is sought or found, she is lovely and honorable.* And we must not imagine that only *Conquerors* possess her, and that *Protectors* have not their partage. The *Romans*, who are possessors alone of true renown, and which they distributed with so much equity to all that truly merited, bestowed no less Honor to him who saved the life of one Citizen, then to him who took off the head of an irreconcileable Enemy: Let us not fear then after so Noble an example, but that we may find as great Honor in saving the *Christians*, as in the destroying the *Barbarians*, and that the action which we have undertaken is not less glorious, then that which we have deferred. The titles of *Conquerors* prove not always so pleasant and plausible as Princes may expect; For in the Judgement of the people, the *Conquerors, though never so moderate, are accounted usurpers.* Besides that title is not to be obtained but with the subjugation of an intire

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Kingdom, which is attended with the difficulties of deſtroying Thrones, taking Scepters, giving Crowns, beſides the Souldiers courage, and the peoples ſubmiſſion; The Hiſtorians pens muſt with acclamations and deſcriptions declare the Conquerors merit to the World. But as for him whoſe deſignes are to be a *Protector* of his Allies, he hath the Reines in his own power, he dependeth on his own will, to attain his undoubted renown. He who is ſtiled a Conqueror, perhaps may acquire the Epithets of hardy, valiant, and fortunate; But he who hath the name of a *Protector*, injoyes not only theſe former qualities, but theſe are added, that he is juſt, faithful to his Allies, noble and generous. Now if the difficulty of undertaking giveth addition to glory, in any enterpriſe; Then certainly the Contribution of relieſe in ſo eminent danger cannot but be an act of moſt tranſcendent honor. At preſent we only intend Preſervation to the *Venetians*, and to encounter with a mighty Army of *Turks*, and we may poſſibly get this advantage, having firſt ſubdued our own ambition to vanquiſh this inſolent Enemy, or at leaſt be able to impede the deſigns of his new Conqueſt. The Honor which we ſhall gain, will be ſo clear and pure, as not to appear corrupted with the leaſt ſuſpition of ſelf intereſt before the Peoples eyes. If we ſhall not render the *Turks* Priſoners, we ſhall be happy in preſerving our *Allies* from being their ſlaves; If we cannot beautifie the ſacred Altars, we ſhall repute our ſelves bleſt if we can defend them from the Turkiſh fury; and equally pleaſe our ambition, and be fully ſatisfied, though we be not Conquerors in *Africa*, to be Protectors in *Europe* of the innocency and vertue of our *Allies* and our Religion. Theſe are honors to which we may lawfully pretend; men in this noble endeavour are bound to acknowledg to us the means of their Preſervation: Fathers will have their Children, and husbands their Wives protected in their Innocency and Modeſty; our memory and fame will grow up with the little infants, who by this deliverence, will be taught to continue the Honor of their liberator to poſterity: and by a diſcharge from ſuch evills ſtill prove firmer *Chriſtians* and more faithfully hate the ſinns and errors of *Mahomet*. As for *Conquerors* they *gain glory, but never without effuſion of much innocent blood, their Charriots of Triumph are attended and thronged with thoſe who are more miſerable, than criminous*; but in this deſign our Souldiers draw no blood, but from the veines of *Infidells*, and from thoſe who are the *Chriſtians* Enemies; and as for our Honor in this action, it is as equally without ſpot as Competition. The joyful ſongs of innocent Mirth ſhall not be interrupted with the mixtures of ſighes and tears; in our addreſſes of ſuccour our princely compaſſion ſhall occaſion publick joyes, and our endeavours break the Forces of thoſe, who are violators of their Faith, and oppreſſors of the Chriſtian People. *Of all warrs the defenſive is moſt juſt and glorious*; And then chiefly where the ſucceſſes is happy. *That right which permits of a repulſion of force by force, is as antient as the foundation of the world*; Nature her ſelf inſpires it, the Lawes permit it, the Caſuiſts diſpute it, but in concluſion, the beſt Divines Authorize it, and that Maxime is infallible, that *what is Juſt, is Honorable*. How great a reputation muſt it prove then to ſubdue thoſe mighty Armies which are prepared to fight, and vaunt of being victorious; The *Turks* have gathered innumerable Forces to this purpoſe, laid their deſign,

advanced their march, with an infallible expectation, that they cannot fail in their enterprise: But if they prove to be subdued and disappointed, their retreat must be with great shame and Confusion. 'Tis true, the Events of War are very uncertain, and therefore shame ought not always pursue the Conquered; Yet it is ever more notorious and signal upon the invaders when they are subdued, then when the innocent Defenders are overcome. *A strenuous defence though at last overpowred, is as honorable as those who subdue*, and we find *sometimes a place surrendred with as much reputation to those who have yeilded as to those who have gained it, and after a long siedge reduced vigilant and active Souldiers.* Oh (*Menesais*) we find true glory in this War, (with what ever eye we behold the design) The cause is just, the Enemy so mighty, that though we fail to vanquish, yet we cannot fail of reputation; our endeavours (if we have the defeat) will take away all shame and dishonor, how then shall I desert these powerful reasons and considerations, which so mightily perswade me? If *Justice* alone commanded me, I ought to undertake it for her sake; For Kings owe that duty to all the World, as well as to their own subjects. *Generosity* is another promoter of this action in my Soul, which if I should not observe, I deserved not the name and Title of a Prince. If I incline to *Policy* or secret *Counsells* of my perswaders; and if I submit to that inspiration which so inflameth mine own mind, the Beams of Honor lead me to this reliefe, which no *Princes* could refuse but with an ill reflection to the Royal Dignity; *Justice*, *Generosity*, *Policy*, and *Renown*, being the four wheeles which carry my resolution; Seeing the first commands, the second encourageth, the third Counselleth, and the fourth inflameth; we cannot but submit to their united operations, believing we cannot fail, guided by their Conduct and Counsells. These are those Princely attendants which have Honored the Train of great Princes. *Justice* cannot erre, *Generosity* cannot be dishonored, nor *Policy* indiscreet and as for *Glory*, her brightness leadeth and carrieth those splendent lights which facilitate the way to all Nobleness: She is a bright Torch that illuminateth the actions of Princes, she hateth vice, and makes her flye, the vertues are her followers, and all her Companions Noble. These attend her in peace and War. We are now in our March to *Venice*; and doubt not but to find her there; all other Beams grow dark, and are shadowed, when we are obscure in the Chambers of death; *Justice* can bring us but to our Graves, *Generosity* serves us no longer then whilst we live, *Policy* then leaves us, and addresseth to our successor, *Soveraignty* maketh choice to place to a *Scepter* in other hands the Crown is placed on another head, *Majesty* is then buried in ashes, and lieth in her Tombe; But *Glory and Renown flourisheth on the hearse, deriving fame to posterity, and so spreading over all the World: She recompenseth with usury the pains of former cares, and those who have sought her earnestly in the shortness of their days, she perpetuates their memory to all ages:* Let us follow then this glorious star which directs our course now, not to *Barbary* but to *Venice*, where we shall be certainly Honorred with the brightness of true glory and renown, whatever our successes prove.

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The Cenſure.

THe example of *Noble* Emanuel (*this Illuſtrious* Hero) may guide the reſolutions of all Princes and Monarchs who aſpire to ſublime immortality. This action of his was more glorious then his Throne, and more precious then the golden Scepter which he bore: The Diadems of Imperial Crowns are not ſo ſparkling as the Rayes of this Illuſtrious Action: The Purple, and magnificent garment Princes wear, repreſent not perfect Majeſty without their inclinations to imitate ſo great a Prince, who hath appeared in this not far ſhort of Alexander or Cæſar. The high reputation of Conquerors exceedeth not the generoſity of an equitable and moderate Prince who is as glorious in the relief of his Allies, as if mounted on the chair of the higheſt Triumphs. And ſometimes to refuſe ſuch glorious offers doth not reliſh leſs of true renown, then eminently to Triumph. To preſerve ones friends, is no leſs prudence & honor then to deſtroy the Enemy. And this is a Maxim as ſafe as ſound. Rome (which this Prince obſerved) gave freely a Crown to him who preſerved one Roman Citizen, and erected many Statues, and honored him with many thouſand Trophies. To him (I ſay) who honorably preſerved the Republick, and defended his Allies by his generous actions, in preferring them above his proper Intereſt. This is advice fit for Princes, becauſe thoſe who ſeem to be above the Laws, eaſily believe they are not obliged by any; and it is good to intimate to them (from time to time) that they are men as well as Princes; and if their condition do exempt them from what they preſcribe to others. Nothing can free them from the rule of humanity and natural equity: And we read that the Emperors of Rome had attendance and followers, whoſe buſineſs was to moderate their exceſs of pleaſure, by the directions of Counſels; who if irritated and inflamed with provocation, yet upon ſecond notions, the advice prudently digeſted, they became more diſcreet, and of a better temper. Some Princes have commanded that they ſhould be dayly remembred with that ſaying, Souviene toy que tu es mortel, leaſt they ſhould forget it through the ſplender of their ſtate. 'Tis true, Kings are to be diſcourſed with moſt properly in ſoft and ſilken termes; and imperious language ſounds not well in Soveraigns Ears; the ſweetneſs of perſwaſions are of greater force then boyſterous ſpeeches: Yet Thunder and Lightning is welcome when it changeth the corrupted Air. In curing the deſperate wounds of Princes, the Chirurgeon obſcures the inſtrument of Iron which muſt open and heal, gives it a perfume which may be more pleaſant, ſugars and clariſies the remedy to make it more conducible, and leſs ſharp and afflictive to the Patient. When Philoſophers ſtudy Morality they find Virtue inviron'd with Prickles and Thornes, ſcarce to be ſaluted without danger. But when they conduct virtue to Court, or would lead her into Princely Palaces, ſhe is adorned with all variety of rich accontrements to make her more lovely in the eyes of Majeſty. It is this beauty of Virtue that inchanted this great King of Portugal to prefer Juſtum before Utile, and the preſervation of his Allies and friends before the expectation of a Conqueſt. And for my own part were I to follow my natural inclinations, I ſhould fill this whole Volumn with ſuch examples as this. But the variety of Flowers is the beauty of a Garden, and the diverſity of matter is the delectation of books; we ſhall paſs now then from this moſt generous Prince the King of Portugal to the

Duke

Duke of Anjou. (*afterwards* Henry the third) *of* France, *who diſguſted with* Charles the ninth, *his brother, had the Crown of* Poland *procured for him by thoſe who deſigned his elongation and farther remove from Court. The ſubtil ways, and ſecrets of* Princes *are not revealed to all, and ordinary capacities could not pierce at the effects of ſo ſtrange an action, that he ſhould elevate his brother to that honor on whom he had ſuch conſtant jealouſies; ſee here his reaſons and arguments to the* Biſhop *of* Valence *in diſpatching him to* Poland.

CHARLES *the Ninth, to* JOHN DE MONLUC, *Biſhop of* VALENCE.

EXperience bringeth the moſt perfect inſtruction, and Philoſophy and Policy (though they may vaunt and pretend) yet cannot lead to the right paths of Prudence without her conduct, by whoſe means they are chiefly beaten, and made plain: All things which have appearance of good, are not therefore eligible; but preſent affairs are firſt to be conſidered with circumſtances which are already paſſed. Prudence is the companion of Experience; and an excellent guide under whoſe conduct we cannot eaſily erre: But many who pretend to poſſeſs that great virtue (if really examined) have little acquaintance with her: *Self opinion being ordinarily the greateſt cheat in the world.* Old age, which ought to have her as an inſeparable companion, walks often alone, and hath not Prudence for her familiar friend; whereas Youth many times is more fortunate in her ſociety: It is not therefore long life which is ſolely bleſſed by gaining Experience; ſince there are many men, nay even Princes, whoſe whole lives are but a continued dream or ſlumber. *They who pourtray Experience ought to have lived longer then one Age, ſeeing that all Kings and men in their longeſt duration continue but ſhort moments of time.* The years change, and ſeaſons have their alterations, but Kings (ſurfeited with Peace and Luxury) let time paſs without ſtrictneſs of obſervation, to their office; and in an indulgent Reign of plenty and tranquillity, their abundance cauſeth them to ſwell with Pride and Eaſe, that they will hardly be examples of Juſtice, much leſs of Mercy. *Luxuriant and wanton times cauſe Princes like iron to ruſt for want of uſe*; but when an unexpected Enemy appears with terror; or a Civil War breaks forth and imbroyles a State; when the diſſention of the Grandees endeavours to diſſolve the ligaments of Government, and ſecret Machinations are diſcovered to produce general confuſions; then Princes are forced to ſummon up their beſt abilities, and having muſtered all faculties to their ſervice, they are then unexpectedly drawn to ſeveral varieties, and ſtrange hazards of neceſſitous undertakings: Sometimes to diſſimulate, and counterfeit kindneſs where they hate moſt, and (on other occaſions) to ſhew rigour, and ſeverity towards them whom they moſt love, and Honor: at other times they command

mand to imprisonment those Ministers and Favourites, whose company they chiefly honored, and wish nothing more than their liberty. Such occurrences are the familiar attendances of Crowns, whereby Kings gain experience, and discern the transient accidents of their Reigns (which obligeth them to the Rules of Policy and Prudence) the better to secure their Sovereignty. *Histories, though they preserve a memory, and treasure up the actions of Kings, yet they give not perfect instruction to them in their Royal Offices; New successes intervene in several Reigns, which daily require new Counsels and fresh designs.* He who seeks for instruction solely in Books, must not think to have his expectation satisfied by exmining only the Reigns of such Princes, who pass their times meerly in peace and tranquillity. The Reign of *Tiberius* and his Court of delicacies, may teach a Prince to consume Golden time in airy Vanities, and wanton Luxury. But the Reign of *Marcus Aurelius* was in another temper, where Ensigns (the Emblems of honor) were in highest request. The History of a soft and Luxurious Prince, like a bed of Sand to the Pilot, is very dangerous, unless the Example be avoided: But the Lives of hardy and Valiant Princes, like Anchors if well fixed, may preserve a Royal Ship from Naufrage; the Errors of Princes, like Rocks in the Sea, ought to be observed in the Charte, that they may be the more securely avoided: But (above all these Theories and Contemplations) *Experience is the chiefest Mistress, Virtue consisteth in action,* and *he reigneth most prosperously, who by the observation of the evils past, and the judgment of those that are present, doth prevent future mischiefs.* To open my thoughts (Noble Prelate) to you I am but young, and have not seen more than a *Quinquennium* of my Reign; I dare not presume to brag of my Experience, yet I dare to say, I have seen those things since I came to the Crown, which I reserve in my memory, and which make me doubt whether I have not outlived many of my Ancestors in the Kingly science. Certainly if the observation of what had arrived both in Court and Kingdom (though I am but a young *Prince*, and of the age of twenty three, yet) I have recorded many marvellous and strange occurrences in this short time, which have whetted my Resolution and Reason to a deportment of more vigorous activity in this dubious conjuncture of mine affairs. It may seem strange to you, and all the World, that I bestowed a Crown on one I have held in Jealousie, and great Suspition, who for his Person, was a *Prince*, my *Subject* and my *Brother*. And (it may be) you will tell me, if you procure Crowns for him whom you suspect, what rewards will you bestow on those who are faithful? To this objection Policy makes her answer, that there are conjunctures when it is more seasonable to prefer than punish, and to remove an Enemy to a degree of eminent honor, than to reward and recompence a faithful Friend. And your wisdom teacheth you, that all times are not proper for the same service. The merits of some ought to be in the Register, though not requited at present; and the dangers of others designs are considerable; And when revenge may prove perillous, as well as ineffectual; Fidelity is to be suborned (if possible) to prevent more terrible inconveniencies. *The fairest Flowers serve as well to conceal and hide the Aspes and Serpents, as to beautifie Chapplets and Crowns of Kings;* and *Princes are not obliged so much to regard beauty and riches, as the hearts of those whom they rule and command. Great rewards are not always the te-*

ſtimony of love, but often the effects of Policy, and are not given ſo much to oblige to Reſpects, as to appeaſe and remove from wrath and Revenge. It was the *Trojans* Counſel (though not received) *Timeo Danaos & dona ferentes*; let not then my liberality aſtoniſh your apprehenſion, which I ſhall endeavour to ſatisfie by many arguments. Firſt I muſt let you know that all our Enemies are not to be treated after the ſame manner; ſome may be contemned, others ought to be feared, ſome actions of *Princes* ought to be publiſh'd to all the World, and others, to be concealed from all eyes, *Soverelon Government admits as well ingeniouſly to diſſimulate, as ſeverely to puniſh.* The Duke of *Anjou* is not one of the firſt rank, but a perſon more conſiderable than to be deſpiſed; he and his party is rather more formidable, and therefore the more to be ſuſpected. If my private ſuſpition of him were publickly declared to the world, my condition might grow more dangerous, and he more puiſſant; becauſe he is ſo neer to me in bloud as a Brother, and ſo related as viſible Heir of the Crown. *Great wounds in the more noble parts, endanger the body; and diſſentions in the Royal Family, are commonly more deſtructive and fatal to the whole Line:* Such diſcords would be invitations to the Subjects, to become more inſolent to repair their private Fortunes with the ruines of Royalty. If *Henry* and *Charles* were divided, ſome would conceive in ſerving *Charles* they were ſubſervient to *Henry*; and others following *Henry*, may be ambitious and violent to baniſh and abandon *Charles. Fraternal diſcords, as they are not honorable, ſo they are not ſafe. Charles* was too neer in bloud for my ſeverity, being my Brother, who though naturally ambitious, might excite the Subjects to ſedition, they having too much proclivity to that Crime; And an execution of puniſhment on one ſo neer, as it might provoke a popular compaſſion, ſo it might probably occaſion a general revolt which might ſhake the foundations of my Monarchy. *The Laws of Heaven, as well as thoſe of Policy, conſpire in the concealment of ſecrecies,* leaſt that what is at preſent ſcarce an Embryo in the thought (breaking out into action by a diſcovery) prove an unruly Monſter in the Birth. What remains then, but that I ſhould remove him to a mighty diſtance, whom I could not puniſh? and gratifie him with a Forraign Crown, the better to ſecure mine own, and to uſe diſſimulation where I durſt not preſume to chaſtiſe. But you may object, I underſtand you ſpeak of Enemies and puniſhments ſutable to their crimes; If ſo, I know not whom you intend, nor what is his crime whom you ſuſpected; you may farther reply, that I ought to conſider the Duke of *Anjou* is the *Mounſieur* of *France*, that he is your *Brother*, that he is *young*, that his inclinations are ſweet and amiable, that he is *General* of your *Armies*, that he hath a great influence on the *Queen* your Mother; and that with his affability he inſinuateth, and gaineth the hearts of all, who addreſs unto him. Theſe circumſtances do juſtly engender, and beget great ſuſpitions, and therefore may rather merit a Guard to ſecure him, than a Crown to oblige his haughty affections. To this I reply, 'tis true, the Duke of *Anjou* is my Brother, and ſo in that relation neer the *Throne*; Ambition may more eaſily tranſport him to aſpire to the Crown, and though his heart were ſo moderate and juſt, as not to ſuggeſt to him ſuch ambitious inſpirations; yet doubtleſs he hath a company of Counſellors and Flatterers about him, too apt to inflame him in ſuch deſires; perſwading with *adulation*, that if he we King, his Reign

would

would reſtore the Golden Age; objecting, that this of mine was compoſed of nothing but Iron. *Thoſe who are born neer to Crowns, are too prone to think themſelves abuſed by nature, who gave them not a more early birth to inherit the poſſeſſion of Sovereignty; to which high pitch if they cannot aſcend, they commonly fall deſperate and melancholy. Alliance and blood are natural bonds ſtrong enough to oblige private intereſt, but when their relations are neer a Crown, thoſe bonds uſually grow feeble, and in the combate of ambition and nature, the more equitable party doth not always prevail.* You tell me, the Duke of *Anjou* is young; that is the age when paſſion is moſt predominant, and moſt eaſie to be perſwaded by thoſe who guild over their own ambitions and ſelf intereſt, by pretending to aim at nothing but his good and advantage, who nevertheleſs, though they ſhould make him King, would be afterwards as active in depoſing him, if it were in their power. *Youth is an age where the acquiſitions of ill habits are more facile than the infuſions of good and virtuous diſpoſitions*; Yet it is a vigorous time which rendereth great advantage to thoſe whom it ſerveth: It is the chiefeſt ſeaſon to gain hearts, and to delude with hopes and lovelineſs. If my Brother were elder, I ſhould leſs ſuſpect his power, and more confide in his affections. As for his inclination, which may be ſweet and amiable; Thoſe qualities do render him more formidable: With theſe ſhapes of affability and courtſhip, he will more eaſily ſuborn my ſubjects, and reign more puiſſantly in their hearts by his complacency than by his gifts, his ſolicitations, or expenſe of treaſure. The fierceneſs of my humor, and the ſweetneſs of his comportment, will cauſe thoſe to love him who fear me, and gladly to forſake ſo ſevere a General, to follow, and obey ſo complacent, and courteous a Commander; and if there be occaſion, I am not to doubt of their reſolution to a Revolt, when they are poſſeſſed with ſome expectation, and hopes of him, as a fit Succeſſor, and are ſo preſently inchanted with his extream civilities. As for that other quality, his being *Lieutenant General* of all my Armies, it is a relation and capacity wherein I may not leaſt ſuſpect him: For when he was but *ſixteen years of age*, after the Battail of St. *Denis*, and the *Conſtable* of *France* ſlain, he was chearfully received *General* to that victorious Army, with the unanimous applauſe of the greateſt Officers, who ſo joyfully ſubmitting to him as their chief, being ſo young, and after the death of ſo noble and experienced a Commander, made me preſently conclude that he was born to be fortunate and great: And ſince his advancement to be General, do you not ſee how delightfully the Souldiers flock and follow after him? Do they not purſue all occaſions to manifeſt their Valour for his honor, and daily thirſt after the happy hours of his fortunate conduct? He hath (ſince his commands not only beaten the *Proteſtants*, made the Queen of *Navar* to fly to *Rochel*, and forced the *Cardinal Chaſtillon* to eſcape for his life to *England*; but he retreated with as much ſucceſs as generoſity from his dangers in *Poytiers*, where both the Armies were ready to quarter in the ſame place, and to fight, and ſo ſurprize a Victory. To conclude, during the continuance of this War, while he was active for me, he was ſuperactive by his ſucceſſes for himſelf; by which means he made many Creatures for his own intereſt, of the beſt rank of all my Subjects. The glorious day which he had at *Baſſack*, where he made an eminent *Prince* his *Priſoner*, his ſucceſs

ceſs at *Anbeterre* and *Muridan*; The ſecond Battail which he gained, whereby he reduced many places in *Poitou*, *Saintogne*, and *Angoulmois*; and thoſe other noble acquiſitions, even to the taking of Saint *John de Angelo*. All theſe circumſtances have perſwaded me to a ſuſpition, and to more ſtricter obſervations of his ways. Theſe fortunate events might inflame his expectations to ſublime thoughts of commanding all: And as ſometimes the ſtrength of force ſurmounts, and is prevalent above the Laws of Nature, and the rights of birth, his thoughts may be tranſported beyond thoſe of a Subject, he might conceit himſelf to have as good a Title to a great part of *France*, as *Alexander* had to *Perſia* when he commanded there with his Army. And it is more than probable, his ambition will hardly admit of this difference, that the *Macedonians*, who affected Great *Alexanders* Conqueſts, were his Subjects: But the *French*, who had compaſſed theſe illuſtrious Atchievements in the ſervice of their General, were not his, but my Subjects whilſt I lived and reigned. As to that Relation, wherein you tell me that he ruleth the *Queen* my *Mother* as he pleaſeth; To that I ſhall reply, 'tis true, the *Queen* my *Mother* hath great paſſion for my *Brother*, and it may be ſhe is ſo indulgent in her love to him, that it tendeth much to my prejudice. The honor and reſpect which I ow to her (being her Son) and the quality of her Regency of *France* which ſhe ſo bravely performed, commands me, that I dare not preſume to examine ſeverely that Article, though I apprehend (ſometimes) that my Mother prefers my younger Brother to more degrees of affection; yet I am to be pardoned if I be not ſilent in that point, nor eaſily raze it out of my memory. You know when the Duke of *Anjou* beſeiged St. *John de Angelo*, he met with more difficulty than he expected, and the affairs were ſo managed, that they rather threatned diſgrace than honor: But the *Queen* my *Mother* fearing (in this occaſion) leſt this action ſhould reflect with a diſreputation upon my Brother, and aſperſe with ſome diſadvantage all his former Victories, commanded me to march and raiſe the Seidge, by which accident I became liable to the diſhonor of that unſucceſsful attempt. I leave you then to judge, whether I may more rationally confide in him, or whether I ought not the more to ſuſpect him, ſince he hath of his party not only the greateſt of the Commanders and Captains, but even a Princeſs whoſe Honor and Juſtice are ſo equally admired. But (as I ſaid) I muſt not ſcrue up this ſtring too high, nor examin this point too rigorouſly: For the *Queen* is my *Mother*, as well as ſhe was *Regent*, and therefore of a higher degree, than to be treated as an ordinary Subject; And whatſoever arrives, I ſhall be more glorious (let her uſe me as ſhe pleaſe) in the effects of any of her deſigns; than if by a diſreſpective preparation I ſhould preſume openly to oppoſe her. But there is a midd way (which I chooſe to walk in) ſo even and inoffenſive, as ſhall give her no pretence to complain, and yet ſhall remove all obſtacles which can deprive me of her affection. The Courting and Carreſsing of the people, if free (poſsibly) from ſecret ambition, is not only tollerable, but commendable; but when a young *Prince* is compliant and affable, and ſtudies to win and pleaſe, thoſe endeavours being imployed to his equals, and inferiors as fellow Subjects, with as much, or more obſervation, than to his Sovereign, can it be that one of his Condition

would

would make himself so much a slave to such persons, but upon design thereby to become their King? Certainly if this were not his aim, he would esteem it far more conducing to his advantages to court his Soveraign upon whom he depends; than thus to fawn upon his Inferiors. Liberality, on such an occasion is but a Mercenary virtue; her giving is rather a sowing in expectation of an Harvest, which may make a return with usury: And it is these hopes which makes her Prodigal, who, upon another score, would have given nothing. In the consultation then of all these Considerations, that the Duke of *Anjou* is my Brother, that he is Young, and General of my Armies, that his Inclinations are affable and sweet, that the *Queen* my *Mother* so highly favours him, and that he hath no other business but to gain the hearts of those who addres to him; it were imprudence not to be jealous of him: Yet all these reasons and conjectures seem weak and feeble in comparison of what I shall farther add. The *Queen* is of that disposition, that she justifies all others before me, she authoriseth all to have suspitions on me; she discovers the most concealed secrets of my trust to the Duke of *Anjou*, and them of his faction; she accuseth and convinceth the clearest reasons, and will not admit of truth it self to oppose her pleasure. I have read in History, that an old wise Rustick, who confined his ambition within the Walls and Pallisadoes of his Garden, received a Crown from *Alexander* with some regret and shew of *Melancholly*: And some Philosopers have not thought a Crown worthy the lifting up to their heads: But I never yet read that a young Prince, whose inclinations are wholly bent to Gallantry, and to Pleasure (rather than towards Morality) would receive a Crown with regret or discontent. When one presenteth me with the news of a Town surrendred, or a Battail won; my presents were usually Chains of Gold to those who bring such happy tidings: And yet the Duke of *Anjou* hath scarce a common Civility for them, who bring him the assurance and tidings of a Crown and Kingdom, notwithstanding that he is ambitious of being reputed the most civil and obligeant Prince of all the world: Nay when it was told him that *Sigismond* was dead, and consequently that he might aspire and pretend to the Crown of *Poland*, he discovered more tears in his eyes for the death of *Sigismond*, than if he had received the same news of me: What variety of thoughts then may not hourly suggest to me strang apprehensions? May I not think that he who receives such a Kingdom with regret, aims at one more glorious? And for what other reason can it be, that the Crown of *Poland* should be inconsiderable? I do not think he can easily compass the Crown of *Spain*, his Friends are not so intelligent, as to abuse *Philip the Second* to serve him and his design; as for the Crown of *England*, and that *Illustrious Queen Elizabeth*, that Kingdom is as equally impossible; For the *Queen* will not Marry but die a Virgin. What reason can there be then alledged, why my Brother should refuse to be a *King*, unless he hoped and expects my death, which might prove his passage to a more glorious Throne? And although I discern not his way, it is most evident, his design is laid to this haughty pitch. That mighty faction which I have formerly mentioned, will treat and agitate profoundly for his black interest and criminal expectations. His Name is great, being of the Royal Family, his party proportionable to their great occasions: He watcheth all advantages, he expects the fruits of his dangerous enterprise, and

may plead no inclinations of his own, but my Subjects averſion to ſerve me. To all this the Duke of *Anjou* preſumes he is aſſured of the *Queens* cordial wiſhes, and his extremity of hatred to the *Proteſtant* party will occaſion a War; that War keep up his intereſt with the greateſt Officers of the Army, and Grandees of the Kingdom, and theſe intereſts ſtill increaſe his power. I cannot deny but thoſe of whom I ſpeak in their Qualities merit not their Kingdom, but though Fortune hath not given it them, their ambition thirſteth after it, who (without doubt) better deſerve exile, or a priſon, if it were ſeaſonable to act ſuch an execution. But as his power cannot be ſhaken without ruining the Queen, and endangering the peace of the whole Kingdom; I muſt not undertake what is impoſſible, knowing that my Brother hath the ſtrongeſt places of *France* under his command; and thoſe not ordinarily fortified, but reinforced by the affections of the people: It is neceſſary in this juncture to ſhew him a fair path, and to invite him with the temptation of a Crown, to remove him from his popular Authority; and ſo to wean the people from their admiration of him to a more proper object.

In this condition let *Henry* receive the Crown of *Poland*, and confined to ſo noble an *Exile*, act his Royal part on that foundation. In his aſcention to that Throne we ſhall better eſtabliſh our own; and giving him Subjects, ſhall place Guards about him, who ſhall aſſure us of his perſon, that he Reigning more puiſſantly in *Poland*, we may Reign more gloriouſly in *France*, and with more tranquillity. There is (moreover) this advantage in this deſign, that though I arm mine Enemy, yet there is no fear that his weopons can reach me, nor trouble my ſafety at ſuch a diſtance. His Troops may be diſcovered, if he deſign any irruption; and if we have any War, it is not likely to be on the Frontiers of our Eſtates. Beſides, this Exile is ſo remote, that his Creatures (left behind) dare not preſume to murmer,, their complaints being not able to reach their Patron, or (at leaſt) he not neer enough to revenge, or defend their diſcontents. Things thus examined, I found no way better to diſcharge my ſelf of this ſo neer a danger; which if I had longer deferred, the wound might have been made too wide for any cure. *Publickly to oppoſe by force thoſe whoſe crime is ſecret, is a provocation of the peoples hatred, and of levying of Forces for mine enemies*: So to act for them who would deſtroy me, or my Kingdom, and to commence a War, which may not have an end in a ſhort time, and which may be fatal and deſtructive to the whole, as well as ruine to my ſelf. To have immured this young *Lion* in a place where his fury might have prevailed with popular aid had, been a deſign too dangerous, and *it is very difficult to find faithful Guards when he who is impriſoned is in a condition to be Proclaimed and declared a Lawful King. Such a Fire that cannot be extinguiſh'd, is better to be diſperſed.* It is then moſt rational, that the Duke of *Anjou* be made King of *Poland*, that I may be my ſelf. Surely he will never have the boldneſs publickly to interpret that an unkindneſs which deſerveth thanks. And as for thoſe who ſerve him, they dare not interpoſe in that, which appears ſo advantagious to their Protector: As for the Queen her ſelf, who is more ſubtile and prudent than not to diſſemble at leaſt a feigned joy, for that addition of a Crown to her Son, though it may inwardly cauſe ſome reluctancie and grief. What can then oppoſe a deſign ſo judiciouſly and prudently conſulted of? The greateſt

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objections (preſſed with ſevereſt violence) muſt needs be ſatisfied in the elevation of this young Prince to his Scepter; no aggravations can ſeduce the People, but that this honor agreeth with his qualities, though never ſo noble. And as for you (*Illuſtrious Prelate*) conſider how in this Act the Kingdom is delivered from a ſecret Uſurper; your King is preſerved from a dangerous and emulous Rival and Brother. The roots of Rebellion are extirpated, Peace is eſtabliſhed throughout all *France*, and never did any perſon extract a more illuſtrious and innocent Revenge from ſo deep an Injury: It being certain, that this is the firſt time that Revenge was ſatisfied by the Coronation of an Enemy.

The Cenſure.

AMbition hath her Jealouſies as well as Love, *and the one is no leſs violent than the other.* Soveraign Power is ſo delicate and tender, that all things which do approach neer it, occaſion inquietude, and that which doth but touch it, wounds it. *The very ſhadow and ſlight imagination accuſeth any thing as culpable, which apprehenſion hardly can be altered or appeaſed. So deep an impreſſion, and ſo profoundly is jealouſie ingraved in a Crown. The* Greek Poets *ſaid, that* Kings knew no kindred; *to ſignifie that* Bloud and Proximity were not conſiderable with thoſe who reigned Soveraignly. *And as ſoon as* Kings *are ſeated in the Throne of Supream Authority (as if in that degree they had a ſpiritual addition) they ſpeedily become more jealous of their glory. The more Nature and Fortune hath obliged them; the more ambition diſquiteth and raiſeth ambition in their thoughts. It is true of Sovereignty, as it is of the heart of man, where all wounds are mortal. When* Tiberius *came to the Empire,* Tacitus *tells us that the Senate deſigned to obliige their new Prince, by conferring a glorious title of honor on his Mother* Livia, *and ſtiling her* Mater Patriæ; *but this ſubtil and abſolute* Polititian *could not endure that title in his Mother, but anſwered, that* Honors in Women are more properly to be moderated than augmented; *And (as that famous Hiſtorian relates) that title procured her a Guard, which he appointed perpetually to attend (*Auguſtus *being dead) leſt her Grandure ſhould leſſen and diminiſh his; And if* Livia *cauſed his reſtleſſneſs, what perturbations did* Agrippina *increaſe? the great acclamations of the Souldiers as ſhe marched by the River of* Rhine, *wounded him on the Banks of* Tiber. *And thoſe teſtimonies of affection which thoſe Legions beſtowed on her, engendred not only jealouſie, but hatred in his heart. Now if this cruel paſſion ſo tormented him, that he was ſo enraged by a woman, what might ſhe not have endeavoured to eternize the glory of her Husband? He feared* Germanicus (*much more than the* Barbars) *he ſuſpected him too neer to him in* Almany, *and that he was not far enough from him in Aſia; and* Piſo *was not in ſuſpition alone, as to cauſe his death. What ſhould I ſay more? the Children ſhould have the ſame deſtiny with their Parents, and if the Prieſts dared to pray for themſelves, though after their Emperor,* Tiberius *would take exception, make an ill interpretation of their Devotions, and quarrel with the Pontifical Elders. Nay this Prince was ſo infinitely jealous of his Power, that he deſtroyed himſelf in the perſon of* Sejanus: *he could not endure the glory of any others, though after their death: and as he oppoſed*

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the honors tendred to his Mother when she was alive, he frowned at her Funeral Pomps, and interrupted the kindness and profusion of the Senate when she was dead. Let us not then be astonish'd if Charles *the Ninth grew jealous at the Virtues of his Brother, being a passion to which all Princes are so subject, and who have as many examples to follow as Sovereigns, who hardly Reign and Rule without this passion, which is so common amongst Princes, that Crowns seem tempered as well with Jealousie as Glory. Yet there is no rule but will admit of some exception. Policy, like* Janus, *hath two faces. I shall now therefore present you with the example of a King, whose resentment was clean contrary to* Charles *the Ninth.* Don Ramir, *King of* Oviedo, *was so far from suspition, that he associated his Brother in the Empire, caused him to sit with him in the Royal Throne, clad him in Royal Purple, and imparted to him the joynt fruition of his Crown and Scepter; an Action so eminent, as well deserves our curiosity to discourse the Motives. We have heard the reasons of* Charles *the Ninth, who could not endure a Rival or an Equal. Let us now attend the discourse of* Don Ramir, *who would not sit alone in the Royal Throne without the Company of his Brother. And after examination of both let us judge whose Reasons were most efficacious and sound.*

DON RAMIR *to the* ESTATES GENERAL *Of His* KINGDOM.

I Doubt not but most Capacities will be rather apt to condemn my design and intentions of the Co-regency of my Brother with me in the Throne, and will not be inclined to approve this unparallell'd action. But it matters not, *Multitudes and tumults are not fit Juries to censure Kings, nor proper Judges to sentence and condemn their pleasures.* It sufficeth me if I satisfie men more rational, and the more eminent persons of my Estate, and thereby convince their Judgments with those Reasons which have obliged me to an action so rare, as to communicate and make a partage of mine Authority. Those who dive not deeply into the intentions of Heroick Persons, (who whilst they lived, were so famous for their Atchievements, and whose Renown is descended through so many ages to us) may have their eyes dazelled, and their reason startled at this great example; and may rashly conclude it as a matter against all rules of wisdom, to endeavour a Communion in Government, where the Kingdom is but little, and therefore the Crown more unfit for any but one. For (they will say) was it impossible for *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, who were two such mighty men, so great Friends, so linked in Allies, to have contrived a Co-regnation? and do you think that it is possible to be effected by you? Those (I say) who were so incompatible, in the joynt

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fruition of Sovereignty, that each one would rather adventure the loſs of every drop of bloud, than to be ſingly Supream? If Royal Authority divided were for the aſſurance or advancement of any good, or (to ſpeak more plainly) if it were a thing that were poſsible, what means had not been endeavoured for that Reſolution? Now as *Caſar*, and *Pompey*, rather abhorred than approved ſuch a one: So *Alexander* the Great, condemned a Rival in Supream Authority before thoſe noble *Heroes*. And if ſuch Perſons have refuſed; who dare adventure to be an Example in ſo ſtrange, and unprincely participation of Royalty? They will yet preſs farther; Great *Alexander* was peaceable in his Kingdom of *Macedonia*; *Darius* was neither his Neighbour, nor his Enemy; yet notwithſtanding to gain command throughout all the Univerſe, he put himſelf into a condition either to deſtroy the *Perſian* power, or elſe (as one ambitious of more illuſtrious glory) to fall in that deſign. Thus Antiquity relates and venerates united Soveraign Authority; ſo true it is that a divided power hath ever been the mother of diſorders and misfortunes. Do we not remember (will ſome object) that the Founders of *Rome* were Brothers, and Twins? Yet thoſe who had lain together in one Womb, could not ſit quietly together in one Throne; and nothing could ſatisfie until the bloud of the one was mingled in the Morter, and laid in the Foundation of the Walls of that glorious City. *Silla* and *Marius* never were in peace, nor could they reſt while their power was equal. The *Triumvirat*, a compoſition of three choiceſt men, could not continue long. And *Anthony* and *Lepidus* were forced to ſurrender to the fortune of *Auguſtus*: *Marcus Aurelius* (with all his Philoſophy and Wiſdom) found it an unſupportable burthen to bear ſail with the Factions of *Lucius Verus*, his Colleague in the Empire. *Baſſianus Caracalla* was voluntarily a Fratricide (to Reign alone) in the perſon of *Geta*. *Balbinus* and *Pupienus*, thoſe grave and ſage Princes did adventure an equal periſhing, aſpiring to a ſuperiority out of their ambitious ſpirits. *Gallus* and *Voluſianus* were maſſacred by their Souldiers as a reward of their ambitious diſſentions. *Gallienus* creating *Odenate* his Colleague, haſtned his own death, with the ruin of the Empire, the envy of *Meonius* determining his glory with his life. It is very poſſible that *Diocleſian* out of diſcontent to his fellow Conſul, after ſo many Victories and Triumphs, renounced his Empire to ſpend the reſt of his days in ſolitude. To conclude, all Examples of this kind eaſily demonſtrate, that the admiſſion of a companion in the Throne, is neither facile nor tollerable. Theſe Arguments may be objected againſt my reſolution, but to anſwer; *Examples do rather illuſtrate, than demonſtrate, and rather perſwade than convince Reaſon.* Fortune (who is active in moſt enterpriſes) cauſeth ſometimes good ſucceſſes to ſpring out of evil councels, and ill ſucceſſes oftentimes to be the events of good deſigns. Wherefore, if we rightly examin whether a thing be good or ill, the thing it ſelf is to be ſcanned, not the effects which follow, which ordinarily arrive not but through ſtrange cauſes, for which there may be no merit for accuſation. Beſides, the apprehenſions of Kings, Princes, and great Perſons, and their actions differing from others, deſerve a more extraordinary reſpect. They are not always regulated by a Law, or neceſsitated to an Example, otherwiſe they muſt forfeit their Reaſon, and their Authority muſt entirely be deſtroyed. If the Prince of *Ma-*

cedonia had failed to have been Maſter of the Univerſe, his deſign had been interpreted raſh, and he too ambitious, as rather aiming to make himſelf glorious, than deſiring the worlds good, which he ſo much pretended. His ambition of Renown made him ſo active; and if the people found themſelves happy under his domination; their Fortunes were the more to be eſteemed, meeting with a Prince of ſuch grand and noble inclination. Yet I cannot but ſay that if that Illuſtrious Conqueror had admitted a Co-regence to ſome eminent Kingdoms in his Sovereignty, he might better have preſerved ſome virtues, which he loſt, and not ſo vainly attempted ſome things which have ſpotted his Memory and Reputation. That ſtately Caſtle which he cauſed ſo raſhly to be burnt at *Perſepolis*; Thoſe Voluptuous and *Aſiatique Luxuries* which viciated the Noble *Macedonians*; the death of *Clitus* and *Parmenion*, and ſome ſuch other ignoble accidents poſſibly had not obſcured the Splendor of his glorious Reign. As to that diſcourſe which concerned *Caſar* and *Pompey*, they did not in their ambition aim at what was better, but what was greater. Their envy, and emulation was ſo high, that in the conteſtation they ſeemed not to contend ſo much for the Scepter, as to deſtroy each other; they had not ſpirits ſo moderated, as either joyntly, or ſucceſſively to Reign and Govern. And that which is ſaid of *Caſar* and *Pompey*, may be affirmed of *Silla* and *Marius* their Anceſtors; for *Romulus* and *Remus*, who e're knows how they were Born, Foſtered and Educated, may eaſily judge, and have foreſeen the ill fortune which arrived to them both, the one Brother dying a violent death, and the other living a heinous Fratricide: For *Auguſtus*, *Antonius*, and *Lepidus*, ſeeing thut they were joynt Competitors for Sovereignty, they could not but be harraſſed with unquiet perturbations. But as for *Marcus Aurelius*, and *Lucius Verus*, though the Government was interrupted with ſome errors in their Conſulſhip, yet it became not ſo unfortunate under thoſe two, as under many other Princes. It is then neither unjuſt, nor impoſſible to admit of a Companion, or Aſſiſtant in Government. *Marcus Aurelius* did nothing without Reaſon; he was Prudent, Diſcreet and Virtuous, to ſuch a degree, that his Example is ſufficient to juſtifie my Reſolution. *Caracalla*, *Balbinus*, *Pupienus*, and others, though they have differed in their Judgments, yet have not contradicted my Election and Choice. And as for *Dioclefian* and *Maximianus*, there was no circumſtance in their Reign, which yeilds not ſome aſſimulation to my purpoſe, their converſation was unanimous, they Fought, Vanquiſhed, Conquered, and Triumphed alike: And if any difference did ariſe, it was ſo prudently ſmothered, as not to ſtir up any popular trouble, or ill reſentment: And (for ought we know) when *Dioclefian* made choice of a private life, it was rather a voluntary election to retiredneſs, than any jealouſie of *Maximianus*, or any injury from ſo faithful a Colleague. Beſides, in this eminent, and great receſſion from the Crown, *Maximian* encountred with as much trouble as *Dioclefian* could, with content and quiet. That which is ſaid of theſe Primitive Emperors, may be ſaid of others who Ruled in *Greece* ſince *Conſtantine* the Great transferred the Empire: *Valentinian* aſſociated his Brother *Valens*, and afterwards his Son *Gratian*, who in a ſucceſſion coutinued the ſame Grace with *Theodoſius*, and he to his Children *Arcadius* and *Honorius*; and when *Honorius* Reigned in chief alone, he nominated *Conſtantius* for his

his Colleague in the Empire. Thus *Juſtinus* made choice of *Juſtinian* his Nephew, and many others of Princely quality propoſed this way as beſt for themſelves, and ſubjects. Yet if all the Reigns of theſe ſeveral Princes were not ſo fortunate, the evil conſequents and effects are not to reflect on my deſign. The ſame misfortunes have attended them who have Governed Empires, ſolely, and without a Companion, as it appears too evidently in the ſaid Reigns of *Caligula*, *Nero*, and *Domitian*, and many others who have been as wicked as great. But as I ſaid before, it is not by illuſtration or examples, but ſenſe of Reaſon that I ſhall ſupport my undertakings. Did I rely on the precedents of Hiſtory, the *Greeks* can plentifully furniſh me with examples both great and Illuſtrious. In *Sparta*, where Morality and Policy ſeemed to have their birth, and whoſe Rules may guide all others; the Command was there legal and uſual for two Kings to be of equal power. But becauſe Examples prove nothing, let us liſten to Reaſon, which moſt juſtly challengeth obedience, and is the chiefeſt Authority to govern Princely actions: And now let us ſee whether ſhe doth not counſel me to place my Brother with me in the Throne, which rational men muſt needs confeſs an act of greateſt prudence, if it tend to the repoſe and ſafety of my people. To know this truth more exactly, we muſt conſider, that Monarchy is obvious to many dangerous Concomitants; he who is higheſt in power, is not always fitteſt for the diſcharge of the greateſt Imployments. Kings, though they are poſſeſſors of Honor, they are not always friends to Virtue, and often ſhare in Vice more deeply than any of their Subjects. And they who find themſelves ranked in that high condition, that they can do what they will, (it is to be feared) will not always do what they ought. The firſt motions of a provoked King, or of a Prince, leſs virtuous, ought to be feared, as much as Lightning. His Rage and wrath are equally terrible; he no ſooner hates, but is on fire with indignation; he is no ſooner diſpleaſed but ſpeedily puniſheth all whom he ſuſpecteth to diſpleaſe him: Innocency cannot ſtop his Fury, his executions are as ſwift as his thoughts, his paſſion is ſometimes ſo violent, that it runneth headlong into a precipitation, where Reaſon is not addmitted to plead, nor Juſtice adminiſtred, but Clemency utterly forgotten. 'Tis true, a Kingdom may be unfortunate where two Princes are equally vitious, but if the one have inclinations to Virtue, they will prevent the errors and defaults of ſocial miſtakes. But it is rare in Nature to ſee two men (much leſs two Princes) of the ſame humors and tempers, yet ſome advantage may be extracted out of the diverſity of their vices: if one be laſie and idle, it may reſtrain the choler, and impatience of the other; the coldneſs of the one may ſerve to correct the hot and paſsionate humor of his Companion. And he who is too ſlow, may equally be quickened by him who is ſuperactive and vigorous: And why ſhould not that noble emulation which inliveneth skilful Artiſts, and hath made great perſons Competitors in Virtues, cauſe Kings and Princes more eminent in their Office and Government? From ſuch an innocent Conteſtation may ariſe the ſecure reſult of Peace to a Kingdom, greater Glory to the State, abundant plenty and hapineſs to the People. For when a King makes uſe of his Counſellors, which may be Sage, Faithful and Wiſe, yet they are of no other uſe to him, than Books are to private Subjects, he conſults with

with them but when he pleaſeth, admits no conference, but when he calleth, believeth as he liketh, and acteth nothing but what agreeth with his inclination, and perhaps no part of that which hath been preſented in advice; but in this united Government, affairs are not ſo tranſacted. Great Reſolves ought to be at leaſt in the Conſultations of two, and the very time of debate may contribute ſome more exact advantage: The diverſity of their opinions and apprehenſions may ſerve to produce a more perfect diſcuſſion: And theſe Conſiderations (if they effect not a happy concluſion, they) may at leaſt prevent a precipitation and ruin to the State, and to preſerve the Kindgom from a forraign Invaſion, or from the cumbuſtion and broils of Civil War, which are not eaſily quieted without General deſtructions. Weigh the conveniencies with the dangers of two equal in Government, the condition will be more ſecure, either in Peace or War. In a War, the one may govern with Counſel, the other as General command the Army: The one in the Court derive Juſtice to the People, the other in the Camp order Martial affairs to the incouragement of the Souldier, and terror of the Enemy. It being very difficult in ſuch a juncture of danger, to preſerve the Civil part from acts of high injuſtice, and the Martial from a deep reſentment of diſcontent. Seditions and Conſpiracies are the common mothers of Civil Wars, which (like more Venemous and Putredinous Creatures generated farther from the Sun) have their birth, and are begotten in the abſence of their Kings. Where, if the Beams of Authority did ſhine, the Government would be more illuſtrious and ſecure. Do we not ſee both in Martial and Civil Government, both in the Camp and Courts of Juſtice, that there are Officers and Miniſters who in the abſence of the chief Commanders and Magiſtrate, are inveſted with their Authority? and why may it not be as juſt and reaſonable for a Prince to have an Aſſociate on the Throne? not inferior to him, but his equal, to this end, as not only to adviſe and counſel, but likewiſe to be a ſharer of his vaſt imployments, and ſo thereby contribute an equal aſſiſtance to ſupport the weight of the Crown and Scepter. In this relation inferiour Perſons cannot ſerve but feebly, in reſpect of thoſe who have the ſacred Character. If you will ſay, ſubſerviency in Authority may be equally uſeful; I anſwer, *Delegation of Power is potent in thoſe who grant it, but more feeble and weak in thoſe who receive it*: Inferiour Creatures (ſubject to a change and Princely diſpleaſure) have not that Gallantry and Nobleneſs of mind, as thoſe who have the high and divine Marks of Soveraingnty imprinted on them. Generals, and great Officers of State, mind more their private intereſt than that of the Crown, and commonly ſtudy more to make themſelves, than their Maſter, great. But two Princes of equal intereſt in the ſame Crown, as two obedient Sons in one Mother, are only divided in their perſons, but not in their deſires; the Glory is the ſame, their Throne, their Scepter, their Crown, their People, their united Intereſt: And conſequently in this Community, they act with greater order, and proceed with greater Prudence, and enjoy not only thoſe preheminencies which Monarchy is ſaid to have above other Governments, but even thoſe alſo which ſeem to render an Ariſtocracy advantagious. The grand Preſence of Soveraigny ſeems divided, but the Puiſſance is intire; They are as two great lights in the ſame Orb.

Orb, where the authority is equal. The People though they have two Princes, yet they pay but one tribute, and if their judgments differ, the Government grows more ſecure, and the Princes and people in more ſafety by their diſſenting Harmony. This capacity renders a Kingdom more immortal, and admits not an *Inter-regnum* though one die: Nor thoſe Confuſions which are very common at the inopine and ſudden deaths of Princes. By this means a Civil War may be prevented; that power being communicated to my Brother, which was derived to me from my Unkle, who might ſtudy an uſurpation, and the Commotions of the Kingdom, if I had not imparted this Grace and Favour to him. And (if I miſtake not) in this action I ſhall gain this honour, that I ſhall eaſily be ſuppoſed able to overcome all other Paſſions after my having been victorious over ambition, which is ſo natural to Princes. And who ſhall ſuſpect me covetous after my having admitted my Brother to the moyety of my Kingdom? Nor do I abandon thoſe whom God hath committed to my charge; but contrariwiſe give them a ſecond Protector, thereby endeavouring to provide the more for their ſafety. It may be objected that I am not ſo diſcreet, parting with a thing ſo puiſſant and precious as a Scepter; Yet moderation merits Elogies, as well as Ambition. *Humble Virtues are as commendable as aſpiring and tumultuous honour*, and *to reign in peace with Juſtice, is as glorious as to Conquer triumphantly in War. It is fit for a Prince to have the Theory of Violence and Severity, but not to practice it, if it be poſſible.* In this condition, if the *Moors* ſhall invade us with their Forces, our Armies and theirs ready to joyn, the Enemy may be amazed to ſee two Crowned heads, in the Front and body of the Battalia, or the one in counſel as the other in the Camp, and ſo conclude a Throne thus ſupported, is with more difficulty deſtroyed and ſubdued.

The Cenſure.

DON RAMIR *hath uſed his ſtrongeſt arguments for the pretences of his Bothers Co-regency and Coronation, but whatever this Kings ſelf-perſwaſions were to him, his diſcourſe may be juſtly cenſured a Parodox; and a wiſe man (in this reſolution) would rather have been out of his Kingdom than of his counſel. As for the Kings of* Sparta *which he propoſeth for example, they were rather the chief of the Senate, than Soveraign Princes. And as for the* Lacedemonian Ephori, *who condemned one of their Kings to die, it is well known that the King of* Lacedemon *was but a painted and titular, not an abſolute King: And as for* DON RAMIR, *he could never have eſtabliſhed the ill cuſtom of* Sparta *in the Kingdom of* Spain; *he might have ſo concluded if he had been a Prince, as high in Reſolution as Birth. Kings are not to degenerate, by liberality to communicate Soveraignty, and thereby to diſgrace, if not to deſtroy, Royalty it ſelf. That great Prince who only aimed in all his Conqueſts to get that he might give, ſatisfying himſelf with freſh hopes, ſtill reſerved his Crown entire. The Beams of Soveraignty are no longer radiant than in the Preſence of the Sun: This Maganimous* Hero (*ready to die*) *kept his Crown on his Pillow, and being moved to whom he would commend his Scepter, he anſwered, to him who deſerved it beſt, when I am dead.*

And although Arideus *his Brother was in the head of his Army, yet at the point of death, he would not name his Successor, to preserve his puissant Royalty more intire, to the last moment of his life. He said truly on another occasion,* Ephestion was another *Alexander; but understood thereby that* Alexander *had given him his heart, not his crown; that he made him his favorite, & not his equal. That great Prince, who wrote to* Darius *that the whole earth ought not to have two Masters, no more than the heavens two Suns, taught the world another resolution than what* Don Ramir *practised; and though he conquered* Tyre, *yet he would never suffer the Royal Robe of purple to be communicated. This action of* Ramir *is (as Divines say) more admirable than imitable: for Royalty, like a Mathematical point, ought to be indivisible, and that body that hath more than one head, ought not to be interpreted any other than a Monster. Philosophy saith,* Omne bonum est sui diffusivum: *but Fortune hath another Maxim clean contrary. The first speaks of intellectual Goods, the second admits not, nor will suffer the community and participation of Crowns; she will be rather offended to see such an illustrious condition in a divident, and cannot endure that any should be admitted to her glorious favours, holding them too precious to be rendred divisible and common.* Pluralities of *Cæsars* can neither be good for Prince nor people, *was a speech which the Philosopher* Arius *used to* Augustus, *when he alluded to a verse of* Homer; *then when after the death of* Anthony *and* Cleopatra *this Prince disputed with himself, whether it were better to put the young* Cæsar *to death, or save his life. And if* the amity of private persons ought to go no higher than the Altar, the grace and favours of Princes ought to go no higher than the Throne. *although the Church sings,* Ecce quam bonum & jucundum fratres habitare in unum, *yet she intends the union of private persons, and not of Kings in their high degrees; of brothers who dwell in a house together, and not of them who sit in Thrones: Oh how pleasant is this Feast? said a solitary churle to one of his humour, who did answer as bitterly, Yes, if thou were not alive to enjoy it: That which this hater of Mankind said of his Table, may be rightly said of Soveraignty, where a Prince can never sit at ease, or secure, but when he sits alone.* God made man after his own Image; *and how can Kings be said to be his Image, but in taking care that they admit not any to resemble them?* Royalty, like Rivers, if divided, flow and fall into shallow streams, which either quickly freeze, or are speedily dried up. *In this example,* Don Ramir *is like a Rock in the Sea, rather to be avoided by Princes than imitated, if any shall be so weak as to permit their reason to be so deluded. Monarchy (as the Greek word hath the signification) is not separable, and the Scripture warranteth, that* no one can well serve two Masters. *Having now concluded of one too excessive in his bounty, let us treat of a Prince more judicious and wise; who though he graced his favourite with great honours, and liberal dignities, yet was more morally and divinely prudent.* JAMES *the First, King of* England, *came to that Crown by the Testament and death of Queen* Elizabeth; *Those, who knew that Her Majesty had put to death the Queen of* Scots, *his Mother, designed to oblige the King to revenge that injury, by punishing those who were the Ministers and Counsellors of that violent and sad Accident, and so to revenge the blood of* Mary Queen of *Scots with the blood of those Creatures who contrived her death. It is a subject so delicate and tender as not to be touched or decided without his great judgment and reason, whose Kingly examination could determine so weighty a difference: He was another* Solomon, *and exalted Reason and Philosophy with him to his Throne.*

KING

Kings have their Periods; by Dame Natures date.
The poore man dies, so doth the Potentate;
And though to ye Worlds eye Kings seeme compleater
Their standing high, makes but their fall the greater.

KING JAMES
TO THE
DUKE of *LENOX*.

IF I did not know (most Noble and Faithful Cozen) that he, who in the Scriptures is called *The God of Vengeance*, is also stiled *The God of Mercy*; it might prove a piece of great difficulty to my reason what to resolve in this tickle point, and whether I were better to endeavour a general alteration of whatsoever Queen *Elizabeth* setled, who caused my Mother to be put to death; or to countenance and maintain those Glorious Actions, which were done by that *Virgin Queen*, who made me King of England. For as Soveraigns are the Images of Divinity (if the second Attribute corrects not the severity of the first,) I were obliged certainly in duty to require blood for blood, and not ascend the Throne without resolving to cause those to ascend a Scaffold, and there to die, through whose violent counsels she lost her head, from whom I received my breath. But as vindicative Justice is not ever necessary, let us examine curiously a Circumstance which so equally concerns mine own glory, and my Kingdomes happiness. Let us consider whether I had better to punish, or pardon; whether the works of Injuries ought to harbour in Princes breasts; or whether they may not more prudently forget, than chastise them. It is not (I protest) otherwise, but as often as the Image and Memory of the Queen my Mother is represented to my Fancy, my thoughts are afflicted deeply, and I resent strongly, that no *Christian*, nor prophane policy can permit me to live with Honour, and without immortal Infamy, if I cause not those to be put to death, who contrived and counselled to take away her Life; for when I recollect that a Soveraign Queen, the Daughter, Sister, and Wife of great Kings; whose Infancy was protected under the Crown of *Scotland*, whose riper years advanced her to the Crown of *France*, who bore Illustrious Diadems upon her Head, whose hands swaied two Glorious Scepters; who in her Widowhood saw my self, her Son, a King: Consider (I say) a Princess, attended with so many heaps of Glory, after she was constrained to fly from her own Kingdom, and was most ingloriously committed to prison, where extremity forced her to make her Confinement her Asyle; (where after the languishing of twenty years) receiving no Air but through some windows, and as if a Prison had been weary of her Company, not to go out, but to ascend a Scaffold, and not to be discharged of her sufferings but by the hand of an Executioner; and then

then her head to be cut off ignominiously, which had born two Royal *Crowns*; the representation of these Circumstances are so terrible, that they obfuscate and trouble my Reason, and render me incapable to have any other thoughts, but what are surprized with sad Confusions, to behold such a doleful Spectacle; which possessed all my Apprehensions with Terrour and Amazement. Yes (my Lord) I see with weeping Eyes this most unfortunate *Queen*, whose hairs have grown white rather with Grief and Discontent than Age, and that Tears furrowed her Beauty, and not her length of dayes: How funest and direful must my Conceptions be, looking upon her Prison all hanged with Black, and Funeral Flames lighting her to the Chambers of Death, where nothing presented any Beauty or Constancy but her *Majesty* attended with Patience, and the virtue of a Divine Soul. The eyes of all the Spectators broke up, as fresh Fountains, over-swelling with Tears of Sorrow; her very Enemies, if they did not weep, yet blusht for shame, or waxed pale for grief: The whole World felt an Inundation and new Flood of Grief; sorrow and sadness possessed all who considered of this unfortunate Event, except her self, encouraged by her Innocency, supported by her Majesty; the Executioner himself (by his sad countenance and trembling hand) expressed the thoughts of his heart, his fears to strike, his willingness to save her. But in the end (maugre all this universal compassion) her fair Head fell to the ground, her scarlet Blood trickled from her Veins, and her Pulses keeping no longer time, that beautiful Creature was rendered a dead Corpse. All these Circumstances plead aloud in my Breast for Vengeance, and remove my Resolutions utterly from the thoughts of pardon. The Queen my dear Mother had a Soul so inured with afflictions, that she was not terrified at the approach of Death, nor amazed with the horrour of that punishment, which was ready to surprize her with so strong a violence, but even in that Agony expressed her maternal thoughts and care of me; her generous kindness was such to me, that her bitter Afflictions could not obstruct her tender Affections to her Son: No, not when she was ascending her infamous Scaffold; it becomes me then not to forget her, ascending to my Throne. Grief did not seize upon her Reason, though Death upon her Body; and it is fit then that joy should not now give a check to mine; and though we could not hinder her Death, we cannot do less than punish those that caused it. In all these Recollections, I cannot make any Reparation to her, her recovery being impossible; nor to my self, by the revolving over of those occurrencies, but cause new additions of grief and sorrow, which are most Natural and proper for the Passions of a Son: *It is neither Wisdom nor Religion to be too violent in any Extremity.* To proceed then to a more exact Examination; the Royal and Prudent *Queen Elizabeth* may incur a Censure in the World as less politick and wise, who permitted her self to be perswaded to so horrible an Action: And as for this Example, it is of too dangerous a Nature for Princely qualities to imitate; It is certain that the persons of *Kings* and *Queens*, like *Temples* and Altars, are more sacred, and all care is to be used that they be not demolished, no nor rudely touched; and a resolution to summon such to judgment agrees not with Royal persons, nor Justice and Reason. The Laws, which (without doubt) search out Rules for the order

of

of all things, and admit no crime to paſs without impunity, yet never found out nor ordered any Caſtigation or puniſhment for Royal perſons. The *Laws bear a reſpect to their Maſters* and *Legiſlators in all Nations*, and they are not to ſubmit to their ſeverity; and although they command the reſt of all the whole Univerſe, yet (in their ſenſe in this matter) they proclaim to all the World, that their being and dependency is of Kings, and that Soveraigns are not ſubordinate and dependant to them. *It belongs to Princes to puniſh the Crimes of their People, and to none but God to puniſh the Crimes of Princes.* The Queen then, though Noble, and in other things a moſt excellent Princeſs, was Enormous and irregular in theſe proceedings, in which ſhe forbore not to ſpill the blood of one of equal quality with her ſelf, that cannot but perpetuate to her memory a black reputation, and the example is ſo exceedingly ſtrange, that it findeth no preſident in any Antiquity. In effect, if Kings are to ſubmit to ordinary Juſtice, the Majeſty of Thrones is diſſolved; when they are forced to the Scaffold, their Scepters are prophaned, and Monarchy grows transformed into Anarchy; and if ſuch a rigorous progreſs be admitted, the foundations of Royalty will be everted, Princes will be robbed of the reſpects and duty of their people, and they deprived of their protection, and be confounded: This would eclipſe the ſplendour of the moſt imperial Crowns, and deſtroy the magnificence of the moſt ſecured Thrones; Scepters, and Robes of Royalty would be contemptible, and venerable Majeſty in no value or eſtimation; the Sacred Character (which diſtinguiſheth Crowns) would be defaced, and Kings would not only ceaſe to retain their Royal Dignity, but ſurceaſe to be the *Image of God.* After all theſe Conſiderations, let us examine whether it be conſiſtent with my Renown to receive the Crown of *England*, and to make uſe of that Soveraign power to revenge theſe particular injuries: And whether that hand which gave me the Crown, ought not to be reſpected in the perſon of her cruel Counſellors, who tranſported her to cauſe the *Queen of Scots* to die. Thoſe who judiciouſly conſider affairs without partiality, and pre-occupation, can judge, that *Revenge* only *belongeth to God*, and that *the Acts of Juſtice, not of Vengeance belong to Kings.* Such judgments conclude that Princes can reward or puniſh, and refer the vindicative part to God himſelf, for *Revenge (in what ſhape ſoever it appears) doth not ordinarily ſpring or proceed*, but from the motion of a violent paſſion, when reaſon is in troubles and deprived of liberty; Fury is a companion of Revenge, and throws down immoderate bounds and limits; hatred exaſperateth Fury, and ſets Revenge in ſuch an addreſs as this, effects not only extream injuſtice, but likewiſe moſt horrid Cruelties. *It is moſt juſt then to transfer the revenge of Injuries to God himſelf, who* (free from paſſion) *can puniſh without hatred or fury.* If the caſe be ſo with all men in general, how prone may Princes prove to outrages? their paſſions do not like greater bodies turn with ſlower motions, but are as ſwift and terrible as Lightning; they whoſe power is greater, their diſpleaſure is too apt to grow more dangerous. Yet (my Lord) perhaps you will tell me this diſcourſe is rather a Moral than a Political Argument. To that I anſwer, that with virtuous Princes, theſe two things, Juſtice and Mercy ought to be inſeparable, and as Twins to their Mothers Breaſts, they are to be equally admitted to Kings Coun-

cils, where they may propoſe or diſpute, but never directly oppoſe each other; principally when the Matter is important. 'Tis true, Tyrants call but one of theſe to their reſolute deliberations; but a Chriſtian Prince muſt have the company of both in the diſpenſation of all their Royal Offices; Be not you amazed then if I admit her who is more ſage and wiſe, to ſpeak firſt, before we admit the other, who as we account, is more bold and hardy, and if on this Subject I appeal to her, whoſe aſſiſtance I judge neceſſary to oppoſe the other. It is true, the noiſe of the ſecond (who is more loud) is more commonly heard, but the advice of both is beſt, and more conformable to Chriſtian Government: but ſeeing there is no matter which according to the fancy of the Artiſts may not be diſcoloured, and ſo the Complection altered, what appearance (will ſome one ſay) preſented it ſelf to impreſs a reſolution in the Kings of *France* and *Spain* to revenge the death of *Mary Steward* Queen of *Scots*, and can you who are a Son do leſs? what ſecurity can you fancy your ſelf to affie in thoſe that were in the Councils, and who drew up the Proceſs, and made themſelves Peers to a *Soveraign Queen*, and then to pronounce a Sentence of death againſt her? The Names of *Thomas Bromley* Lord Chancellor, of *William Burleigh* Lord Treaſurer, of *Edward* Earl of *Oxford* Lord Chamberlain, of *George* Earl of *Salisbury* Lord Marſhall of *England*, of *Ambroſe* Earl of *Warwick* Maſter of the Ordnance, of *Henry* Earl of *Derby*, of *George* Earl of *Cumberland*, of *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*, of *Henry* Earl of *Pembrook*, of *Henry* Earl of *Lincolne*, and thoſe others, theſe Names (I ſay) do preſent not only horrour to thoſe who then effectively condemned the Dowager of *France* and Queen of *Scots* to death; but do derive the ſame to all thoſe who ſhall bear thoſe Titles, with a black ſtain of Injuſtice and Diſhonour. Think you that thoſe who have been ſo ſevere and rigorous to the Mother, can ever be reduced to be loyal and obedient to her Son? At leaſt, do you believe that you can ever confide in them, or they in you, ſeeing that they have been ſo cruel to a Princeſs, and cauſed her impriſonment *twenty years*, who in all right, ought not to have been under their command? Were they not over-bold to lay their hands on my moſt dear *Mother*, when they conſidered that I her Son was lawful Succeſſour to that Crown? How might I give credit to their words or counſels, but rather expect their deſigns to ruine my Self, my Queen and Children, who had been ſo barbarous to root up that Royal ſtock which bare me? may not I rather be jealous that thoſe who had provided an Executioner for the *Mother*, would have found out a *Regicide* for me? and upon this juncto of Reaſons, might not they fear my Reſolutions, thus enraged, to exterminate them and their Poſterities? See (my Lord Duke) thoſe Reaſons which oblige me to decry and deſtroy whatever *Qu. Eliz.* and her party did, in cauſing the death of my Royal *Mother*: From theſe Arguments I can hardly reſolve to maintain and countenance Qu. *Elizabeths* Actions, though ſhe diſcovered her willingneſs to my Succeſſion, to make me King of *England*. O (my Lord) there is yet a Secret within my Soul, which makes me conclude that it ſeems juſt that I ſhould revenge the cruelty of theſe *Barbarous Politicians*; which motion, if I did not reſtrain with more piety and greater Prudence, the Reign of *Henry* the Eight, ſhould not be more full of terrour and confuſion, than that of *James* the *Firſt*, and *England* thereby ſee and

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ſeel more ſtrange alterations than ever it had endured before, In this reſolution the Tomb of the Queen my Mother ſhould be covered with the ſpoyls of her, and my cruel Enemies; and revenge ſhould be ſo full of blood as capable to inſpire terrour into all, who ſhould be ſpectators of that action. This might be a means more ſecurely to preſerve the heads of all *Kings* from the conſpiracy of ſuch violent and evil Counſellors. Though this policy (at firſt notion) might ſeem prevalent, and moſt forcible to perſwade my reſolution, yet other ſucceſſes have adminiſtred cauſe and reaſons for other determinations. Seeing that very hand which ſigned the Warrant for my honoured Mothers Death, ſigned the Declaration which cauſed me to be proclaimed *King* of *England*. And as to this particular, I am as well bound to acknowledge and reward ſo high a favour, as to revenge ſo high an injury. I am not ignorant how that in this ſolemn action, that Queen gave me no more than what was mine own by a juſt inheritance and ſucceſſion; and that by her Royal Teſtament ſhe did no more than confirm what was declared to me by King *Henry* the Eighth: yet if this *Princeſs* had pleaſed, ſhe might have declared that which might not have proved ſo advantageous to my expectations; ſhe might have objected, that my dear Mother the Queen had not been of the Religion embraced in *England*, that though ſhe were a Queen, yet ſhe was a Stranger: And as for my ſelf, that I was the Son of her whom ſhe had cauſed to be deſtroyed: She might have cauſed her Father King *Henry* his Will to be cancelled and annulled in *Parliament*, ſhe might have made another, and ſo have made a *Favourite*, or (if ſhe had pleaſed) her people her Heir: Theſe difficulties might have obſtructed my aſcent and paſſage to the *Crown*. Beſides, in this Act, if ſhe did not repair and render ſatisfaction for her cruel errour, yet ſhe manifeſted to all the world her reſentment and deteſtation of what ſhe had done, by recompenſing her evil with good; and that having been *circumvented* by perſons as unjuſt as wicked, ſhe could elect, or follow better counſels; and if her jealouſie and malice had ſo far tranſported her, as to cauſe her to put my Royal *Mother* to death, it was not through thoſe paſſions, that ſhe cauſed me her Son to be Crowned. *The ill humour of malice is not eaſily purged, nor quickly abandoned, it uſually reacheth not only the perſon hated, but all concomitants and relations near.* Children and Kindred grow odious where a Parent is in deteſtation and diſlike; this infection reacheth often to thoſe who are of a Name; and (perhaps) ſtops not, but groweth epidemical, and produceth *odium* to a Nation. In the effects of this Queens proceedings I find other operations, the Queen expreſſeth no malice to my perſon, but rather, on the contrary, ſtudies my honour, and endeavours my *Coronation*: And from hence I may moſt rationally conclude, that ſome ſecret Maxim, and policy of State put a reſolution to that ſavage action; and conſequently if any duty binds me to forget her memory, who cauſed my Mother to die, or being the Son of ſo great a Queen; yet in all the Rules of gratitude and prudence, I am bound to honour and reſpect her Nobleneſs and great Favours to me, whom ſhe adopted her Son, and Succeſſor to her Throne. But (may ſome one object) will it not be enough that you eternize not her memory by prejudicial Manifeſtoes to her Honour and Reputation, that you deſtroy not her Tomb, and that you permit her Aſhes to ſleep quietly in repoſe, but that you muſt continue your Roy-

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al Authority in the hands of those Ministers which were her Creatures, and let them still enjoy those high Offices wherein they exercised such unheard of inhumanity, and in persons, who made no scruple to put his Mother to death, who was heir apparent to the Crown, and could not fail (if he survived) to be their Soveraign? I confess, (my Lord) this reason is very strong and sound, and the answer that I shall make, is no less. I told you before, she acknowledged me to be her Heir, and adopted me her Son; so that if I should have revenged her actions with severity, I should most imprudently have presumed to have censured the errours and deviations of my greatest Benefactor too bitterly; and like impious children, not only have hated the Vices, but the Person of so great a *Queen*? But good Children, though they may hate unjust proceedings of their Parents, are not only to forbear to punish, but are obliged to cover and conceal their errours and infirmities: to distinguish perfectly betwixt the Crimes and the Offenders, who (though never so culpable) yet they can hold them worthy of honour and admiration. We may weep then bitterly for the death of the Queen my Mother, and yet not proceed to an accusation, or be severe to Queen *Elizabeth*, since the one was my Mother by Nature and Blood, and the other made me a Son by her Election when she lived, and her Testament (when she died) left me a Crown. Adoption (in all ages) hath been received as an action not to be violated, but with great injustice; and venerable History (in her Antiquity) accompanies Truth with her Examples, and boldly tells us, that we owe an equal respect to those who have adopted, as really as to those who have given Birth unto their Children. Adoption hath conveyed *Crowns* and *Empires* often to those who have been received and acknowledged by all the World in their Thrones and Soveraignty; and 'tis just to imagine that the choicest respect is ever due to the bounty of the Adopter, Parents who give us our Nativity, do not alwaies leave us an inheritance, which perhaps Fortune or ill Events have deprived from them; but those who in their Election freely transfer their Estates to us, their Gift, as it is most admirable for its merit, so it ought to be more noble in acceptance, and consequently their voluntary choice may seem (if possible) to oblige us more than our Natural Parents. When first we come into the World, our Parents cannot but incline with tender affection unto us; the cause of that passionate and tender quality is a secret and mystery concealed in our bloud, and riseth from the inclinations of Nature, and yet that amity (how strong soever) seems not to differ much from the instinct of Brutes, which naturally forceth their love and care towards their young ones. But in Adoption, there is another operation, there is an affection and choice, and that springs not rudely from sense, but from the strength of reasons, where the Agent strictly examines the Object, before it fall in love with it, and dotes not with Fancy, but with Wisdom, before it orders gifts or setleth possessions. In effect, I am very certain, if Queen *Elizabeth* had not believed that my Soul had been more inclined to Generosity than Revenge, she would not have commended her Soveraignty and Crown to me, she would not have acquitted all her Favourites, and remitted her Scepter to my hands: there would not have been wanting persons, neither within nor without the Kingdom, capable enough to support or defend a Scepter.

Scepter. We may reſolve then, if ſhe have called me to the *Throne*, it was becauſe ſhe judged me worthy, becauſe ſhe believed it appertained to me, becauſe ſhe hoped I would render reſpect to her memory, and never violate or break thoſe bonds of love; and having regard to the Nobleneſs of her Favours towards me, I might be more firmly obliged from all thoughts of Revenge, in a matter clean out of the reach of reparation; and to which, oblivion and ſilence preſcribed the beſt remedies. Do not you believe (my Lord) if (at my coming to the Crown) I had filled the Priſons with the Grandees of the Kingdom, who were the chief Authors of my Mothers Death, and had commended to the great Offices of the Kingdom ſuch ignorant perſons, who had had no employment or truſt under Queen *Elizabeth*; think you not that ſuch a ſudden alteration would have cauſed a ſpeedy general Confuſion over all the Kingdom, and that at my firſt acceſs to the Crown, I might ſeem to govern neither with ſafety nor honour? Should I have baniſhed thoſe bloudy Counſellers, all the ſecrets and myſteries of State might have been diſcovered to forreign Princes; Some of them were Miniſters, and employed under King *Edward* the *Sixth*, ſome under Queen *Mary*, and others under Qu. *Elizabeth*, who was too wiſe to diſcharge thoſe whom ſhe judged fit for continuance in ſuch high employments, though they had been prime parties in other factions, and violent Enemies againſt her perſon and intereſt. Yet (may one object) ſhe had no occaſion to think on Revenge; for thoſe who cauſed her Mother *Anne Bullen* to be put to death, and were counſellers and abetters of that act, they were dead long before Queen *Elizabeth* began to Reign. But I ſhall eaſily anſwer to that; her actions were chiefly employed for the conſervation of her ſelf, for during the Reign of her Siſter Queen *Mary*, ſhe being unjuſtly ſuſpected to have been a Conſpirator with thoſe who endeavoured to hinder the match with *Spain*; the Privy Council concluded that ſhe deſerved the ſame deſtinie as *Jane* of *Suffolk*, and was in danger to have loſt her head; of which reſult in Council, the Lady *Elizabeth* not being ignorant, waited with patience her better fortune: and after coming to the Crown, ſhe preſerved in memory their names, who had been ſuch deſperate Counſellers againſt her, and in proceſs of time, ſhe met with opportunities to revenge thoſe particular injuries; but upon new and freſh pretences. We are not then to be leſs prudent than ſhe, whoſe dangers are as great, and buſineſs as infinite: Beſides, in this action of her Adoption, ſhe hath not only aimed at my Renown, but likewiſe at the repoſe and welfare of the people, ſo that her example guideth me in the paths of Policy, and not to provoke and anger the Hornets neſts, when I may paſs by quietly (without the leaſt murmuring) to my Crown. If then I ſhould be ſuper-active in ſuch a dangerous deſign, in whoſe fidelity and ſtrength might I confide? The number of the Offenders is not ſo inconſiderable, as to perſwade me to dream that I can deſtroy them in a moment; and as for relation to themſelves, they are not only acquainted with all myſteries of State; but they are likewiſe active Miniſters of State in the chiefeſt places of the Kingdom, wherein as they have gained much treaſure, ſo doubtleſs they have obtained the hearts of the People, whereby a greater difficulty would ariſe, if I ſhould conteſt raſhly againſt ſuch a party. Beſides to commence a Reign with a Civil War,

were to put the State and Kingdom in a capacity of deſolation, and ſuch a violent motion might invite the people to ſuch a hatred of me, that they might be hardly or never reconciled. If I had reſolved on this courſe, an hundred thouſand innocent perſons might have periſhed in the deſign of a revenge on a few notorious Counſellers, this had been to undertake a great Evil for the bringing to effect a little good. If I ſhould exterminate all, whom I neither can, nor ought to love, ſuch a Revenge would produce but a feeble ſatisfaction. The *blood of Kings is too precious to be ſatisfied with the blood of Subjects*, and all that I might do (in ſuch a re-encounter) might prove unworthy of a Royal Prince, who (as I ſaid before) honoureth Virtue and Morality as well as Policy. *The oblivion of Injuries is an Act every way as noble as Revenge*; and in ſome caſes more glorious; principally then, when one forgets not an outrage which he dares not revenge, only becauſe his wiſdom judgeth it not fit. In this occaſion, I ought ſeriouſly to conſider that I do not only receive the Scepter from the hands of a *Woman*, but from her who hath ſwayed it very gloriouſly, and hath reigned with honour; from a *Lady* who knew how to govern in peace, and vanquiſh in war, who could ſtop and prevent Revolts, as well as defend her ſelf from Forreigners; and could force her Subjects and her Neighbours to fear her if they did not love her; and was ſo fortunate, as who triumphed over all who ever dared to oppoſe her. I leave you then to judge (my Lord Duke) if a Prince whom ſo illuſtrious a *Queen* called to the *Throne*, ſhould begin his Reign by the deſtruction of all, which ſhe had maturely eſtabliſhed; if I ſhould not give occaſion to all men to believe, that the Kingdom would be ſpeedily reduced to diſorders and confuſion: and conſequently nothing to be expected but Ruine and Deſolation. *It is very important that the firſt actions of Princes ſhould preſage the ſymptomes of their Reign, and foretell their laſt concluſions.* Wherefore *in the firſt ſtep to a Throne, the Prince is obliged to depoſe and ſet apart all paſſion, and admit no company to that Royal ſeat but true Glory*: The memory of what is paſt is not ſo neceſſary as the conſideration of what is preſent, and a proviſion of what is to come: in which high degree, it will be an addition of Renown to outſtrip and ſurpaſs in virtues all who have preceded. The Prince (if he be wiſe) will prepare his deſires not to revive the errours of his Predeceſſors, nor to publiſh them, but to avoid them; and I could not but be guilty of injuſtice, if I ſhould dare to declare my ſelf abſolute Judge of the Actions of Queen *Elizabeth*, who ſuffered her wiſdom to hearken to thoſe Counſellers, whom ſhe judged moſt able for her advice. Her Actions are not to be examined by any alive, but only God in his Tribunal: The ſame Obligation which ſhould have preſerved her from cauſing the *Queen* of *Scots* to die, forbiddeth me to intermeddle in the cenſure of her Royal proceedings. So that if I honour her memory, it was becauſe ſhe was a *Queen*, if I cover and hide her errors, it is becauſe ſhe made me her *Adopted Son*, if I continue her Creatures in the employment of mine Affairs, it is becauſe the Kingdomes ſafety and repoſe requires it. As for private injuries, as they are commonly betwixt the Subjects, they are leſs conſiderable with Princes. That famous *Roman* ſpoke not amiſs, Who ſaid, that *Cæſars* erection of *Pompeys* Statues might better ſecure his own, and makes me apprehend (in this argument) that a confirmation of what

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Queen *Elizabeth* did, may better ratifie what I ſhall eſtabliſh during my Reign, and that reſpect which I render to her Memory, will be preſented to my perſon, and that I ſhall act nothing tending towards her Honour, but what ſhall reflect to mine advantage. *The change of great Officers in a Kingdom is little leſs dangerous than the change of the Prince*, which ought not to be without great and weighty conſiderations. *Affairs of State ought not ſleightly to be managed*, and if a *Maxime be reſolved on, it is more ſafe to proceed, than diſhonourably to retreat.* What Variety of dangers might I expoſe my ſelf and Kingdom to, if I ſhould think fit to baniſh thoſe who under the Queen have been the chief Supporters and Governors of the State? It was not now long ſince the Reformation of Religion, at which time particular Intereſts (under the ſhapes of devout pretences) promoted thoſe terrible alterations; ſhould I then think of dying *Thames* in bloud, as my *Anceſtors* had done not long before? I know I cannot (with mine own Honour) ſtain their reputation; but I may be defended, if I only remember their Errors, the better to avoid them; let us then think it fit, not to hearken to that bloudy Policy which eſtabliſheth not Thrones, but with the ruine of thoſe who ought to ſupport it; who pardon none with Clemency, but unjuſtly condemn the leaſt appearances of evil; and in ſatisfaction to their own ambition, bear no reſpect to the higheſt quality of men, and reverence no Sex, no Laws, nor Virtue her ſelf: but (on the contrary) let us hearken to that rational *Policy* which foundeth Thrones and Crowns in the preſervation of the Grandees; which hath inclinations mercifully to pardon, and condemn not to an extremity; who can honour a Royal perſon in her Tombe, who can reverence Laws and Virtue to ſuch a degree, that he hath reſpect for her memory, who would not be ſatisfied, but with the bloud of his Mother. I know ſome are of opinion, that a tempeſtuous commencement prepares a way to a more ſecure Reign; but in my judgment (on this occaſion) that *Policy* is too deſperate; for if I pardon all that have offended, it is impoſſible but ſome party ſhould be affected with my generoſity; and if I ſhould puniſh all, I ſhould inevitably multiply mine Enemies, in their Kindred, in their Friends, and their Dependencies; who (on ſuch a provocative pretence) might raiſe an Army againſt me, which (in all probability) may prove no leſs valiant than that ſacred bond of the *Ancients*, who being armed, marched with greateſt violence to revenge the death of their Father, their Brothers, and their Friends. Yet you will anſwer me, things of greateſt difficulty (being effected) render the moſt abſolute duty. To that I reply, if they be unjuſt, they ought not ſo much as to be attempted. *True Glory doth not ever attend the moſt hardy enterprize, and matters of greateſt difficulty.* Moreover *a Prince ought not to expoſe the lives of his Subjects to the peril of death, whether it be in War or Peace, without great neceſſity*, and prudent conſultation; for their bloud is the moſt precious and ſole Jewel, of which he ought to have the moſt exacteſt care, and he had rather be ſparing and thrifty of that choiceſt Treaſure, than of all other of his Eſtate. For it is for that principally, for which he ſhall render an accompt to him who gave him Soveraignty; who permits him not (above all other reſtraints) to be abuſive and prodigal of his Subjects blood. From the conſiderations of theſe reaſons, we incline to ſave the lives of our Subjects, and (at our

firſt coming to the Crown) rather choſe to court our enemies with the favour of Clemency, than to correct them with the Rod of Juſtice. On theſe grounds we ſhall render honour to the Memory of Queen *Elizabeth*, and countermanding our Natural Affection with *Reaſon* and *Policy*, we will make the whole world confeſs, that we are not unworthy to Reign, and to enjoy our Princely Throne: Paſſing by then our Royal *Mothers* Herſe, let us look up towards the Throne, to which the Queen of *England* hath prepared, and facilitated our aſcent; let us ſuſpend that tenderneſs of Soul which might diſſolve us with tears, and and mind nothing more, but true nobleneſs and generoſity, remembring, *it belongeth to a Prince properly to pardon private injuries, and that it is a chief point of wiſdom not to loſe fair and fit occaſions*; for in an obſervation ſo ſeaſonable, the Eſtate and publick good may be more highly advanced, and more ſolid Laws ordained for their preſervation. In theſe reſolutions we embrace and welcom our preſent condition, concluding, that the general repoſe of the Kingdom requires it, that mine own Glory conſents to it, and that my Soul is reſolved to maintain, by a diſintereſſed virtue, all that Queen *Elizabeth* eſtabliſhed; who, though ſhe took away the life of my Mother, commended a Crown and Kingdom to me her Son.

The Cenſure.

IT is a queſtion very Problematical, and a controverſie much diſputed among Politicians, whether Clemency or Rigour be more neceſſary or profitable for Princes, and which of the two render their Kingdom more peaceful and glorious. Both opinions want not ſtrong defenders; Since the World began, this queſtion hath not received a full reſolution; ſome affirm 'tis better to be loved than feared; others, that it is better to be feared than loved; each one (in the order of his contention) fortifies his opinions and arguments; Rigour pretends to carry more of Majeſty; Clemency hath a beam of Glory, which ſeemeth to ſhine with more humanity; the one ſaies, ſhe rules more ſecurely; the other, that ſhe reigns more honourably; both ſtrive to bear away the Palm. *A famous* Politician *feared not to ſay, that a* Prince ought to puffe at that infamy which ſeemeth to ſtain his reputation, *becauſe he was cruel; the reaſon is, becauſe that quality renders his Subjects more obedient. But (in my opinion) this is to ſet on fire the Temple of* Diana. *When* Machiavel *broached this falſe Propoſition, he prepared an infamous memory to himſelf, which his Book ſtill retains. In effect, if Glory be certainly the proper object of Renowned Princes, how can they ſupport Infamy as a matter indifferent? And* how can that Prince who reigns without honour, live a moment without danger? *We cannot be ignorant of that ancient Sentence,* He who ſcorns his own life, may eaſily become Maſter of anothers; *and what can provoke a man to be more violent and deſperate, than the cruelty and injuſtice of him who commands in chief?* Machiavel (*the malicious* Florentine) *ſtaid not at his firſt Propoſition, but he ſaid,* 'twere good for a Prince to be loved and feared; but ſeeing it is a thing impoſſible to enjoy both theſe paſſions at one time, in caſe either ſhould fail, it is much better to be feared than loved. *Why ſhould that branded* Politician *make Fear and Love impoſſible and inſeparable? could he be ignorant that all the Virtues conſiſt in*

a concatenation, and are linked together? Juſtice and Clemency are not incompatible, though they ſeem (almoſt) contrary. Did he never read in the holy Scriptures, that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wiſdom? *Or would he conclude thence this abominable conſequence, that becauſe one was obliged to fear God, that therefore it was impoſſible to love him? Did he pretend to teach the world Policy, and inſtead thereof produce Atheiſm? Did he not know that there is as well a filial as a ſervile fear, which ſecond, (though it be without Love) yet the firſt walks with Love hand in hand? This bewitching Spirit farther adds, Men love according to their own pleaſure, but they fear according to the pleaſure of their Prince, who if judicious and wiſe, ought to relie chearfully on that ſtrength which depends on himſelf, and not on that tranſient humor which depends on the people. Where doth* Machiavill *find that the Prince is not intereſſed to gain his peoples love as well as their fear? Are not graces and favours as well in his hands as the Sword of Juſtice? and as for thoſe who fear him, are they utterly uncapable of his honour and reſpect? It is an ancient precept,* if thou wilt be beloved, thou muſt be loving. *This is natural; an innocent Magick, and works infallibly as well betwixt Kings and Subjects as private perſons.* He who maketh friendſhip his Treaſure may be liberal when he pleaſeth, without danger of profuſion. *That Author was a groſs flatterer, and ſpake little truth, who ſtiled* Hannibals Cruelty a Virtue; *for in the ſame Argument he concluded Clemency a Vice. The holy Scriptures warrant, that* Abyſſus Abyſſum invocat; *and the Moraliſts tell us, that vices are link'd and chain'd together as well as Virtues. To conclude then, this Judicious and wiſe* King *hath been the Diſciple of a better Maſter, and learn'd his Chriſtian Policy in a better School; he well underſtood that Golden Saying of Antiquity,* Ne quid nimis: *and he had (doubtleſs) read in the French Hiſtory,* that it became not the King of *France* to revenge the quarrels of the Duke of *Orleance; and likewiſe it conſiſted not with the wiſdom of the King of* England *to revenge the quarrels of the* Queen *of* Scots, *and therefore this moſt Learned and prudent Prince did proceed judiciouſly, and the felicity of his Reign hath left an aſſured teſtimony of his wiſdom to all the World. But ſeeing we are now in* England, *let us diſcourſe of another famous King who reigned in that Throne; and examine another queſtion as equally important and of as great curioſity to be determined: an example which hath not any impreſſion in Hiſtories of Antiquity;* Henry the Seventh, *who (before he came to the Crown) was ſtiled Duke of* Richmond, *after he had been a long time baniſhed and an Exile, returned into* England *in the Head of an Army, and gave Battel to* Richard *the* Third, *a* Prince *of the Houſe of* York, *who had uſurped the Crown;* Henry *having given him an entire defeat, ſlew the Uſurper, and made himſelf abſolute Maſter of the* Kingdom; *being then at the point to enter into* London (*the Metropolis of the Kingdom*) *he diſcreetly deliberated how he ſhould receive the Crown, whether as Conqueror, or Lawful Heir to the Houſe of* Lancaſter, *or as Husband to* Elizabeth, *Siſter and Daughter to the late King of* England, *over whom the Tyrant had uſurped. See here his Reaſons, in preference of the ſecond before the other two, to confirm a Right of Succeſſion without prejudice to that of Conqueror, or that Title of the Queen his Wife.*

HENRY THE SEVENTH TO *THOMAS STANLEY.*

IT is not enough for a Prince to know how to vanquiſh (faithful and loyal *Stanley*) but it is neceſſary for him to underſtand how to make uſe of his victory; The Battel which I have gained, muſt not ſo tranſport me with joy and exaltation, as to perſwade me to a ſecurity in my preſent condition; but that I muſt think how to make my joyes laſting and durable. I know well my Enemy is dead, his Army defeated, his Tyranny deſtroyed, the Blood Royal revenged, that all *England* rejoyceth at my ſucceſſes, and that the Souldiers, by their publick and general Acclamations, have proclaimed me King, that the *Princeſs Elizabeth* attendeth for my Eſpouſal, and that you (brave *Stanley*) have put that Crown upon my Head which *Richard Barhawarly* uſurped from his Innocent young Nephew *King Edward.* Yet before I receive this Royal Honoor, it becomes me to examine by what Title and Right I may moſt judiciouſly entertain it. The Scepter appertaineth to me in ſeveral and different rights, which may hereafter prove as different effects; therefore I judge it very proper to adviſe what choice may prove moſt neceſſary to mine advantage, and moſt glorious for my Renown. In theſe different Titles, I am not ignorant that neither the time nor the place are (at preſent) convenient for ſo confident a debate in a matter of ſo great importance; being yet in the Camp after ſo bloudy a Battel, where I am environed with ſo many dead and dying Friends, and Enemies, where the Outcry of ſome for their Wounds, and the Acclamations of others for Victory, makes ſuch ſtrange confuſion; where ſome are ſo elevated with joy and honour, others are tumultuouſly tranſported with the ſpoils and prey of the Field; where the Victors are ſo triumphant, and the ſubdued Enemies ſo afflicted and diſperſed: I am not ignorant (I ſay) that it might become me rather to be Triumphant with my Army, or to think of my Repoſe, (after ſo great a Battel as hath been fought) than to amaze my ſelf with Reaſons and Arguments on this Subject; but I know (moſt valiant *Stanley*) that *Conquerers are never weary*; and it may be ſaid truly of me, that I fought not now ſingly for Honour, as Illuſtrious *Romans* have often done, whom nothing perſwaded to the War but the Deſign of a Noble *Reputation*; No, it was for the Throne and Crown of *England* that I dared and fought with *Richard*, who now

now deſtroyed, it becomes me to lay firm and ſure foundations for my future Reign and Government: to effect which thing with judgment, I muſt examine how I ought to receive the Crown, Whether Triumphantly as Conquerour, or pretending to eſpouſe *Elizabeth* the Daughter and Siſter of the late King of *England*, or elſe as Heir of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, receiving the Rights of that Royal Family with deſign of prejudice to that of *York*; becauſe the *Nobles* of the *Kingdom* had been favourable to that Houſe, whence Princeſs *Elizabeth* deſcended, and have condemned the Rights and Title of that of *Lancaſter* in ſo many Parliaments. The firſt is a Title as hardy and bold as glorious, the ſecond was facile to be effected, but the third and laſt is certainly the beſt, though it may appear more difficult and dangerous: But to conſider theſe three apart; let us examine firſt if that Right of Conqueror may not lay the foundation ſtrong enough to bear up the Title and Crown of the King of *England*, without a dependency and Co-aſſiſtance of that Marriage with Princeſs *Elizabeth*, or that of Inheritance and pretence to the right of Deſcent to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*. I am well aſſured (generous *Stanley*) that if you ſhall demand my judgment and opinion in this difficulty (having found the Crown which *Richard* wore amongſt the Booty and Spoils of the Field, and having come to place it on my Head) I am aſſured (I ſay) that you will conceive my judgment may conclude, that I have no reaſon nor occaſion to dream of *Elizabeths Title*, or to look ſo far as the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, nor to conſider the Bloud of either Houſe; but that I ſhould receive the Crown as Conqueror, and the reward of Victory; and ſo preſented from thy hands to him, who came to defeat and deſtroy the Uſurper *Richard*, and by this ſole Conqueſt could now as eaſily mount unto the Throne, as give the prey and ſpoils of the field to the Souldiers of my Army. In effect it may be ſaid, that *Force and power are the chiefeſt ſupporters of Monarchy, and foundation of Empires, theſe create the Grandeur of Republiques theſe founded* Rome, and made her great and glorious, till (at laſt) ſhe became Miſtris of the World. And as theſe did put up, ſo they pull'd down that glorious *Empire*; the ſame Fate raiſed the *Monarchies* of the *Aſſyrians*, of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, of the *Parthians* and *Grecians*, and ſo many famous Governments, of *Athens*, *Lacedemon* and *Thebes*; and of many others, which have commanded and ruled, and ceaſed to Reign, by the fortune and fate of force and power, which alone have raiſed and deſtroyed Kingdoms ſince the firſt Creation of the World. *Power hath as well made Legitimate Kings as Barbarous Uſurpers*, and the Wheel of Fortune could not turn to the Everſion of Crowns and Thrones without the conjunction of her aſſiſtance; and Noble Titles, and the way to true Glory and Renown, are commonly made by her: She looks not after Pedigrees, nor ſearches after the Genealogies of Princes, who Reign within this Title; ſhe hath no occaſion of Manifeſtoes to delude a popular Credulity, and to deceive and amaze the Grandees of a Kingdom. It ſufficeth her to ſay, I have vanquiſhed; I have gained the Battel, my Enemy is dead, his Throne belongs to me, and if the ſame force which made me vanquiſh, can maintain and ſupport my Power, I am King, I will reign glorioully. See (ſage *Stanley*) what they will ſay, who be perſwaded that force and power makes a Title to be juſt and right. It is true, that *ſome ſmall commencements*

mencements of War have laid great foundations to future hopes, and powerful poſſeſſions of Soveraignty have drawn on ſecurely popular faith, and dutiful ſubmiſſions. And certainly (I think) before Religion ſet bounds to the unlimited ambition of Princes, this kind of Right was not only practiſed and permitted, but ſeemed moſt ſecure and ſerviceable: and (as to my ſelf) I have had this advantage, that I have chaſed from the Throne him who had uſurped it by force, and not only ſo, but baſely by Treaſon, and the violent death of his Prince, and his own Nephews, and by ſuch Murders and execrable Crimes, that the very mentioning and remembrance thereof, may amaze with horrour: and it ſeemeth to me more reaſonable and poſſible, that (theſe Circumſtances conſidered) a Conqueror having vanquiſhed ſo bloudy an uſurper, might be well received as a Legitimate Prince; and yet how glorious ſoever this Title may ſeem, I judge it fit to renounce it on this occaſion, rather than to hazard to loſe that which I have now ſo fortunately and honourably gained. Who knows not but that thoſe Souldiers who marched with me to combat with the Tyrant, might forſake me, if I (after the Victory) became as horrid an Oppreſſor as *Richard*. And who knows but that the Nobles and Grandees of the Kingdom might be as reſolutely provoked againſt me, as againſt the Uſurper, to a popular Commotion, and my Eternal Troubles, if I took the Title, and then (as moſt neceſſary) ſubjected all things to the Conquerors will. The right of power belongeth to others as well as to me, and if I had not a Title more juſt, I ſhould not have occaſion to ſeek for one that is evil; which if (at preſent) it may ſerve me, might as well ſerve others in their turn. 'Tis true, to begin to reign with ſuch reſolution, might have the reputation of hardy and glorious; but ſuch violence could not continue to any long duration of time; an entire Age (at leaſt) might be required to corroborate (with all the Arts of Policy and Power of Sword) a conqueſt of this kind, and in concluſion (before the people would be reduced to obey without murmuring) a Prince would be conſtrained either to quit his Throne or loſe his Life, and ſo ceaſe to be a King, or be alive, before he could reap and enjoy the fruits of his Victories. Beſides (as the Affairs of *England* ſtood) the Title of Conqueror might have proved too terrible to the people, and too dangerous to the Prince, at that ſeaſon, when (in all appearances) a quality more equitable was more requiſite, and it was not fit then to adminiſter the leaſt pretext to the people, that might exaſperate their clamorous humour to decry their Princes marching towards, and not as yet ſecurely ſeated in his Throne. *It is* alwaies *an ill conjuncture when a Subject renders his obeiſance to his Prince, not becauſe he conceives it his duty, but becauſe he dares do no otherwiſe; a Prince is never well ſerved with ſuch forced devoirs, nor the Subject well ſatisfied with ſuch unpleaſant Commands.* Perhaps (Noble *Stanley*) you will tell me that there is another way whereby I may more ſafely aſcend to the Throne, which Policy doth not only teach me to be ſecure, but Morality perſwades me, is very Heroick and Noble; yes (faithful *Stanley*) I know well if I eſpouſe Princeſs *Elizabeth*, I ſhall not need to ſet forth any Declarations to manifeſt my Title and Right to the Crown, ſhe being Siſter and Daughter to the late Royal Kings; the people look upon her as the true and undoubted Heir of the Kingdom; and marrying her after my vanquiſhing of the Tyrant who ſlew her Brothers, and uſurped the

the Crown from her, and ſwayed that Scepter which belonged to her; I doubt not, but for this, I ſhould be honoured as the *Liberator* of the Eſtate, and eſteemed as Heroick and Generous; that all the People would extreamly honour me, and that my Moderation ſhould be admired as moſt extraordinary, and infinitely valuable after ſuch Victorious Succeſſes. But, to ſpeak Truth, I ſhould doubt extreamly if I made choice of this way, whether I might be eſteemed to have been as *Prudent* as I had been *Fortunate*, and whether I had not better have received my Crown from the hands of Fortune in expectation of the continuance of her Favours, rather than from the hands of a Woman; for (without doubt) it is a high Degree of Fortune to be advanced to be a King, but I do not think it a thing ſo entirely deſirable to be the Husband of a *Queen*, and (in my preſent apprehenſions) *A Throne it ſelf is leſs lovely, when I muſt approach unto it only as the chiefeſt Subject of her whom I muſt eſpouſe.* In effect, What Obedience or Loyalty may I expect from a people who ſhould not acknowledge me for their Soveraign? What Submiſſion might I expect, or Honour from thoſe Nobles, who (were I dead) might have Capacity to be Succeſſors to my Relation and Place; what Reverence might I expect from my Children, who (if my Queen ſhould die) may become my Soveraigns, and I their Subject? What (Noble *Stanley*) were it fit for me (having gained a Crown by my Proweſs and Valour) to put my ſelf in ſuch a condition, that I might be forced to leave it? and if my Queen ſhould die, to wear a mourning Weed inſtead of a Royal Diadem? If I ſhould accept a Throne upon theſe terms, I might be forced to depend upon mine own Childrens Wills and Pleaſure; Or (if I ſhould have none) another pretender might conteſt for my removal, and claim a Right, and ſo I might be forced to obey whom I had commanded. No, no, this choice could not manifeſt abſolute Power, nor could this borrowed Fortune ſatisfie the Ambition of my Renown; this acceptation of Royal Authority might give me ſome ſplendour, but not render me truly glorious; theſe ſtreams ſeem to flow, not from the Fountain of mine own, but anothers Soveraignty. Kings ought to acknowledge none for their Superiors but God. I do not conceive to be a *Husband*, and a Subject to a Queen, are Qualities compatible: In one relation the Husband is to be the Head, in the other, the Wife; and if the Queen intend to render her ſelf and Husband truly happy, it is neceſſary that he be her King, and ſo her Chief; without which Relations their condition can neither have true honour nor true content, and without them a Court were worſe than a Priſon, and Soveraignty as little lovely as Servitude. Now if ſhe love her Husband, and that by a moſt rare virtue, ſhe pleaſeth to condeſcend ſo far, as to be ruled, and Reign by him, the Subjects will preſently murmure, and cry out, the King's a Tyrant to his *Queen*, and ſhe but his Illuſtrious Slave. Some will ſpeak too boldly, others complain judiciouſly, and ſome prevail to perſwade too far with inſinuations and ſuggeſtions: When his Children ſhall grow up to age, they will not be free from flattering inſpirations to incline them to Jealouſies and ſuſpitions againſt their Father; ſome will dare to inform them that he invades and uſurps the Crown, that if the Queen die, he will neglect, and have no Paternal reſpects for them, and that therefore they rather ought to Court the People than

honour their Father. Theſe ſuſpitions are too apt (ordinarily) to grow reciprocal, and are fixed too naturally near the Souls of ſuch eminent perſons. *Difference in opinion breeds diſſention in reſolution, diſſention draweth on averſion, and averſion changeth love to hatred, and hatred breeds revolts, and revolts proclaim open War*; ſo that by theſe degrees; diſcontents thrive to be irreconcileable: The people fall into greater troubles, and the Kingdom is made more ready for greater ruines and confuſions. Moreover, do not you think, that whether the King have Children or not (if he be noble and generous) that he will prepare a party in his Kingdom to ſerve his affairs, on all occaſions; and that whether his Queen be kind, ſweet and debonair in his ſociety or not. Moreover, how conceive you a Kingdom ſhould be governed without many errors in the conduct, when he muſt neceſſarily have his particular Intereſt, beſides the publick, which cannot but evene and happen on many occaſions? For in order to the preſervation of his Creatures, he will have cauſe ſometimes to diſſimulate in many things, ſometimes he will be forced to recompence with rewards, thoſe whoſe errors merit puniſhments, ſometimes to puniſh them who deſerve rather favours and rewards. Theſe accidents will make him endeavour to imbezel the Treaſure of the State, and ſo make up Banks for private uſes, or to make a War, if there be cauſe. And as for Peace, it can never be ſo perfectly eſtabliſhed in a Kingdom, but a King muſt ever politickly ſuſpect either an Inſurrection of a Civil War at home, or an Invaſion from abroad, And do you (brave *Stanley*) but imagine in what a pitiful condition is a King, who is not prepared and provided for ſuch Contingences. He ceaſeth not only to be a King, but loſes his Honour and reputation; as not worthy to rule. And of all the waies whereby Crowns and Kingdoms are loſt, as this is moſt far from remedy, ſo it is moſt weak, and far from pity. When a Prince (in a gallant reſiſtance) loſeth a pitch'd Battel in the Field, Fortune can force him to yield, and make him to fly to ſome Aſyle: if the Cities and Towns of his Kingdom do revolt, and his Subjects treacherouſly forſake him, he may without all diſhonour ſeek for refuge, and ſearch out for ſuccour and ſupplies. And in his diſtreſs, though the ſplendour of his Glory be obſcured, it is not extinguiſhed: Though his Magnificence and Power be abated, yet it is not diſſolved, nor ſo annihilated, but that he may be encouraged with Hopes, and aided by his Friends and Allies, and ſo make a juſt War, if he can obtain means. Thoſe Princes from whom he implores ſuccours, may more poſſibly contribute their ſupplies, either through the concernment of their own intereſts, ot their generoſity; and ſo though his misfortunes be great, yet his ruines are not abſolutely deſperate. But to acquit a Crown without more than one Combate, to loſe a Throne without a ſtroke, is a miſery as diſhonourable as inſupportable, and ſuch a degree of baſeneſs and lowneſs of ſpirit, as dwells not in my Soul. And what Diſhonours and Diſadvantages attend not a King of baſe, low and ignoble Qualities? If he addreſs to his Neighbour-Princes, they will hardly look on him as a Soveraign, or Renowned Perſon: If he preſume to deſire the Aid of Auxiliaries and Souldiers, they will not only make pretences, but deſpiſe and ſcorn the motion: if he continue in his Kingdom without Children, what ſupport can he expect if one of his Children be King?

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how can he reſolve and humble himſelf to give his Child Obedience? For ſuppoſe the Queen his Conſort ſhall (at her death) ordain by teſtament, That her Husband whilſt he liveth, ſhall conſerve, and exerciſe his Soveraign power; with how many Nails and Thorns will his Crown be pierced; and how full of troubles his Reign; with what impatience will the Succeſſor attend; and with what ſplendor and authority ſhall that Father rule, who ſwayes by the Will of a dead Wife, and (at no leſs than) at the pleaſure or permiſſion of a living Son? And if caſually he ſhall proceed to a ſecond Marriage, with how many fancies and jealouſies will his Son be agitated? and under this ſpecious pretence, to what ſtrange deſigns will he with his Creatures be tranſported? (Generous *Stanley*) to receive a Crown from the hands of an eſpouſed Princeſs, were to put on a reſolution to wait on her only to her Tomb, and then to leave the Throne when ſhe leaves her life. And ſeeing that all Princeſſes (who are Soveraigns) have not the ſame reſolutions for their Husbands as *Iſabella* had for her *Ferdinando*: And it was not but with moſt incomparable virtue, that that moſt rare Princeſs parted with her power, yet all that ſhe was able to do, was but a participation; and notwithſtanding her affection was ſo great, and her virtues ſo ſuper-excellent, yet where nothing could reſtrain her from a conteſtation with her Husband in her Claims to her Rights in the Ringdom of *Leons*, ſhe did it (doubtleſs) with the greateſt modeſty imaginable; yet with ſo great ſecurity to her ends, as the breath of Ambition could inſpire. For it is apparent thus in all their expeditions, iſſuing forth in the names of *Ferdinando* and *Iſabella*; and their Subjects never ſpake of them but plurally, *the Kings Royal Pleaſure*. A word inſupportable, and not to be endured by ſo Princely a heart as I bear. Judge you then (I pray) if *Iſabella* (whom Hiſtory deſcribes as a poſſeſſor of all virtues (could ſuppreſs with the greateſt difficulties, and ſtrip her deſires of Soveraignty; how may it be expected then from a Princeſs not ſo compleatly poliſhed? What know I (If I become her Spouſe) but ſhe may look upon me with ſcorn, as ſhe conſiders me a Subject to her Father and Brother? And who knows, but her elevated ſpirit may ſo uſe me as if I were her Subject? If I were now *Priſoner* to the Duke of *Britany*, and *Elizabeth* were glorious on her Throne, and ſhe had affections for me to redeem me out of *Priſon*, and Crown me with her Royal Favours, and put into my hands the *Scepter*, it may be the cloſeneſs of my Priſon might oblige me to deſire liberty, and my ſad condition encourage me to receive the Crown of *England* from her hands; but ſeeing ſhe hath no more ſhare in this Crown, but that I can with more right give it than accept it; and that it is the proper reward of mine own valour, I being now a Conquerour; and that *Elizabeth* without me could not have enjoyed her Liberty, much leſs have pretended to a Soveraignty: It is Nobleneſs in me rather to offer, than receive Royal Grace from the hands of Princeſs *Elizabeth*; and this is all that I can poſſibly do, whereby the Houſe of *Lancaſter* (had it not right to the Crown of *England*) hath for ever indeared and obliged the Houſe of *York*; and in this Act the world muſt conclude me to have been as exactly and ſcrupulouſly obedient to the Princeſs for Morality and Civility, as to the Maximes of Policy. Yet I inherit theſe generous Rules which have gallant and noble

noble reſolutions, and which love rather to expoſe the hazard and loſs of all, than not to gain all, and rather march undauntedly, than not ſatisfie the ambition of my Renown. *Rights and Pretences to Crowns ought to be reſolute Principles never to be abandoned*; all other pretenſions (in ſubordinate affairs) are admitted to their diſpenſations for change and alterations: But to Renown, Soveraignty, and the Right to a Crown, the reſolutions ought to be ſo unchangeable, as not to be ſhaken; and to yield, is an indignity and baſeneſs fit for none of Princely Birth; but is a quality more ſutable for the moſt infamous and contemptible Cowards. Now as to the third way; The Title of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, you will tell me perhaps (noble *Stanley*) this ſeems dangerous and difficile, that the Peers and Nobles of the Kingdom have condemned the Pretences and Rights of the Family of *Lancaſter*, and that the Title of *York* hath a more popular preference in the ſpirits of the People; that the Kings of latter Reigns have gained their inclinations; ſo that I may paſs under the cenſure, not of a lawful King, but an Uſurper; ſuch a ſuggeſtion may prove a provocation to the people, and ſo Faction beget a War, and that may continue as long as I live. To this I anſwer as before; the Rules of *Policy* I now follow, are generous and hardy; wherefore I muſt not be ſwayed by any conſideration of peril; I muſt make my way through danger, and not ſuffer a diverſion in ſo weighty a matter to my reſolution. Think not, that I can eaſily perſwade, nor prevail to turn the courſe of that Royal Bloud which runneth in my veins, or to renounce ſolemnly thoſe Rights to that Crown which I have conquered, as I muſt (doubtleſs) if I ſhould refer my ſelf to the Grace and Bounty of Princeſs *Elizabeth*, and ſhould receive ſo illuſtrious a Diadem from the hand of a Woman: what reproach ſhould I not receive from Poſterity, if I ſhould permit this ſpot to lie on the memory of my reputation? You will yet tell me, the Right which I pretend hath been exploded, and condemned ſolemnly in Parliament. I anſwer; this condemnation ſavoured of as much misfortune as injuſtice; *Great thieves, and great power robbed us of our Royal Right:* And ſuppoſe their condemnation were juſt and equitable, the Rights of *Conquerors* are as equally Authentick; who *if they have force, can juſtly cancel and diſſolve to nothing all former Edicts and Sentences of condemnation.* He hath fought in vain who hath vanquiſhed a *Tyrant*, and been a *Liberator* to the people from Tyranny, if he have not as equally freed himſelf from all Oppreſſion, and can thereby maintain his power to enjoy what he hath got. As for me, if I ſhould not aſcend a Throne but in the Right of *Elizabeth*, I ſhould only believe that I have changed my priſon, and but gilded my Chains: I can confeſs no leſs out of my internal repugnancy to this dependant Authority. Believe me then in the Acceptance of the Crown of *England*, I ſhall receive it either as Conquerour, or as my Right deſcending of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and not from the hands of *Elizabeth*; and if I admit her to the Throne, I ſhall place her on my Right hand, as *Alexander* did *Darius*'s Queen; and yet not then, until I ſhall have the peaceable poſſeſſion of the Crown without the interruption of any of her Pretences. Yet in this reſolution, I ſhall endeavour to ſpare the Bloud of my Subjects, for which I have reaſon; for my Forefathers have been their *Kings*; and if the laſt Prince of that Illuſtrious Houſe of *Lancaſter* had not been too mild and gentle,

and

and so more unfit to bear up the weight of so great a Scepter, I should not now lie in necessity to search for reasons to palliate and authorize my present Designs. But seeing what is past cannot be recalled, that which is present must regulate that which is to come. I shall ascend then by the successive way, wherein though there may be more of danger, there may be less of injury. In this great action it is just that I forget not the peoples interest as well as mine own; my Conquest shall serve me as to this end, the more firmly to authorize the Right of my Birth and Descent. And as I am not ignorant how that the House of *York* hath prevailed with the whole Kingdom to an universal approbation of their Title, and caused the Reigns of those Princes to be more peaceful while they ruled, more than their Wisdom or Policy could have prevailed; I intend no sooner to receive the Crown, but speedily to incircle Princess *Elizabeth* with me within the Line of that Royal Circumference: but still with this reserve and difference, that she shall receive that illustrious honour from my hands, and not I from hers. Wherefore I shall take order that there shall be an interval and space of time betwixt my Coronation and my Espousals, that no person in my Kingdom may be ignorant with what right I ascend my Throne. In the mean time the people that dive not so deeply into the secrecies and mysteries of State, and *are more easily satisfied with specious pretences than solid reason*; will more readily honour and applaud our actions, and less torment themselves with murmurings or discontents; those who have affections and inclinations to the House of *Lancaster* will rejoice exceedingly at my advancement to the Crown; and those who still reserve their affections for the House of *York*, cannot be better satisfied than to see the Lawful Heir of that House to sit on the Throne with me; and if it should so chance that a Civil War should rise by any who should suggest that the Duke of *Clarence* was not dead, and that he had more right to the Crown than the Princess *Elizabeth*; I shall have this power to oppose such false impostures, and this triple and different right to defend my Crown; and if I own it as Conquerour, as Heir of the House of *Lancaster*, and unite the Title of that of *York*, what power will be able to give a check to our Princely resolutions. All the wayes which Policy can invent to acquire and compass great enterprizes, are either by open and hostile forces, or by secret and subtil craft, or with plausible pretences to delude the people, or with Reason and Arguments to perswade the Sages and Grandees of a Kingdom; these are the ordinary engines of Policy. The first is most absolute and least resisted, the second is perswasive, and effects what seems almost impossible; the third disarms the multitude, and the last raiseth divisions and makes parties among great ones, and prepares a disposition to hope for a victory of the Enemy: And Fortune is so kind to us to concenter all these four advantages to my design. First, as to Force; I believe one cannot be more assured than having gained a Battel and defeated the Enemy, and seeing the Tyrant himself could not longer support his Usurpation, who (think you) dare be so bold as to design to be an Usurper? To force I can joyn Subtlty and Craft, and what could there be better than to intermingle so nearly, and yet to distinguish my right and title before I did marry my right to that of *Elizabeths*, so to make my Authority as indivisible as independent by a deferring of my intentions for her espousals, until my

affairs perſwade me: And to this Subtilty no pretences are wanting which may gain popular compliance and approbation; the people in this now fully ſatisfied, that I act not meerly as Conqueror, nor take from any what appertains to them: In this proceeding they will not only be pleaſed, but ſeem to enjoy their chiefeſt deſire. To theſe if ſtronger reaſons be required, what can better remove all ſcruple from the greateſt Stateſmen or Grandees of the Kingdom (too inclinable for Factions, eſpecially in high Royal differences) than to ſee the union of the two Houſes of *Lancaſter* and *York*? and thereby an extinction (by this alliance) of thoſe ancient Quarrels which did deſcend with Ages, and might have laſted to a generall devaſtation of the Kingdom. Beſides all thoſe conſiderations, I find (moreover) all the Virtues ſatisfied by this harmonious concluſion; *Generoſity* appeareth in my moderation, being ſo well tempered after ſo great a *Victory*; for ſeeing that after the Conqueſt of a Crown, I am ſo deliberate, it is an infallible mark that *Pride* and *Preſumption* have not elevated me above my ſelf: my *Bounty* and goodneſs, whereby I would preſerve the People and Kingdom from the poſſibility of a Civil War, render me more reaſonable, as being careful of their good equally, as of my own. The *Juſtice* which I impartially intend to all, beginneth with Princeſs *Elizabeth*, born ſo near the Throne, and renders my *Heroick mind* ſo famous, as meriting to be approved by all the world: The Boldneſs whereby I have vindicated the Title of all my Anceſtors to the Crown of *England*, will ſpeak me honourable in the ears of generous perſons, and that I ſhall be renowned by all thoſe who have a haughty inclination to true Magnanimity. In effect, *A deſire to reign and be a King, is a thing of it ſelf ſo high and noble, that* I believe *there was never yet any Heroick ſpirit who was not ſurprized and inflamed* (above all ordinary degrees) *with deſire of Soveraignty*; yea (I am fully perſwaded) that *one born from a Royal Throne, though his Birth be diſtant and in a great remotion; yet it is impoſſible, but his dependency (as a Branch on that Royal Stock) is reputed as the moſt ſoveraign Glory and Comfort of all his life*; and I believe *perſons of Princely deſcent, the more they are oppreſſed, the more the Royal Character is imprinted in their ſpirits: and the more they are forced to reſent of ſervitude, by ſo much the more they deſire and thirſt after Domination and Soveraignty*: And if the power of command be a natural & univerſal affection in all men, how ſupream muſt their deſires be, whoſe Birth and Education is ſo ſublime? their thoughts cannot but be independent (if poſſible to others) and their wills would be legiſlative. Think not then ſtrangely of me (brave *Stanley*) if intending my poſſeſſion of the Crown of *England*, I chiefly prefer mine own Right, without Admiſſion of a partage, or the leaſt ſhadow of conteſtation for the Title: Fortune honours me with it, as her Preſent, yet I ſhall not accept it but as a Fruit, growing on the Stock of my Anceſtors, and that my Birth hath now received its Right. Aſſiſt me then (I conjure thy Fidelity) to fortifie my Reaſons in a better reſiſtance (if there ſhall be cauſe) of oppoſition: Tell thy Friends and my Subjects, that I aſcend the Throne, as their lawful Soveraign, and that I ſhall have more affection and tenderneſs for them, as being mine own people, than as if they were *Elizabeths*; let the great ones know effectively, that I am their abſolute Maſter, and therefore have greater power, as to receive, ſo to expect their Services: Let my Souldiers know that I their King, am their

Generall;

General, and therefore, as I ſhall lead, they cannot but march with greater courage, and that their advantage is ſo much the more conſiderable, as not to be expoſed to a Battel, but for ſuch a Royal perſon, who will adventure with them, and bear them Company in their Noble Actions. And let the Princeſs know, that if I take the Crown, which her Fathers have born, my Anceſtors have worn it as well as they; and in this quality her Grace may confeſs that I merit more gloriouſly to be her Husband, and to let her ſee, that without Scepter or Crown, ſhe is as dear and precious to me. To conclude (gallant *Stanley*) proclaim to all the world (though I could claim the Crown as Conquerour) I have forborn it; though I might have accepted a Crown from the hands of a Princeſs, I refuſed it; and that I have rather choſen to hazard the Throne which I have conquered, than not to poſſeſs it as a Legitimate Prince, and the Iſſue and Heir of the Royal Houſe of *Lancaſter*.

The Cenſure.

THis *Prince is in the Records and Annals of the Kings of* England *accounted and honoured as one of the moſt famous and wiſeſt Polititians that ever ſate on that Throne. This is the obſervation of the Lord Chancellor* Bacon; *and as he elevated himſelf to the Royal Soveraignty, ſo he eſtabliſhed it (in all humane Conjecture) with greateſt honour and ſecurity to himſelf and Succeſſors; Though he might have aſcended highly by the effects of his Conqueſts (which uſually are not moderated to any bounds) yet at that time, Fortune (if ever) making her ſelf a ſlave to her Favourite, he waveth that intereſt as his principal ſupport: And though the Title of this Princeſs* Elizabeth *might procure him popular applauſes, and approbations; yet his reaſons ſeem too ſtrong to be ſubjected to that ſpecious dependant ſubordination: which quality, though it may agree with the Genius of a Subject, yet cannot be compatible and tolerable in the digeſtion of a victorious Conqueror. Where a Queen hath the Soveraign Right, and the King a Title only by Marriage, it is not he, but ſhe that ruleth. Now if a Crown be not eſtabliſh'd, it hath not its perfect beauty: if a Scepter be divided, it is no longer a Scepter; if two ſit on a Throne, it loſeth its form, and is no longer a Throne. The Electors of the* Empire, *and thoſe of* Polony, *intrench too deeply on the authority of their Maſters; if a Prince ſee any interpoſition betwixt him and God, he cannot ſtile himſelf Abſolute; and if he have not right to ſay, it is our will and pleaſure, and declare (without farther Reaſon) and ſay,* ſtat pro ratione voluntas; *he carries but the ſhadow of a Soveraignty; he may wear the Crown, but others exerciſe the Royal Office. Now if this kind of Government be not ſo noble; then to hold a Crown by the right or favour of a Wife, is neither ſo ſafe nor ſo honourable. The* Electors *are ſtiled ſubjects; and all Commiſſions and Edicts are ſigned in the Princes name, but it is not ſo where the Wife is ſupream. The Sun which divideth the radiant beams to the Univerſe in his courſe, comprehendeth all ſplendent luſtre in his own glorious Body, and when that is ſet, no brightneſs at all appears, but what is (in its abſence) communicated to ſome leſſer Stars to preſerve the world from utter darkneſs and obſcurity. Thus, this wiſe Prince did judge of Soveraignty, which though it communicate glorious rayes, yet they are originally united in one illuſtrious Body, and thoſe leſſer lights, which as the Moon and Stars radiate with more glim-*

glimmering and duskie brightneſs, they have no native, but mutuations and borrowed light. A quality utterly inconſiſtent with a generous and renowned ſoul, and which agrees not with the Nature of Soveraignty. If this Prince had held his Crown by the title of Elizabeth, he muſt have depended on the will and pleaſure of his Wife, and never been able to ſway and command abſolutely: It is our will and pleaſure, is the Crown of England was an abſolute Monarchy, ſo it had now a King who ſcorn'd to loſe the leaſt circumſtance or punctilio that might grace the ſplendor and brightneſs of Majeſty. And as for the complication and acts of Grace to gratifie his people, he rather admitted and uſed ſuch pleaſant popular baits, out of policy and deeper deſign, to prevent all ſtorms, or to calm them if they ſhould riſe, than to diminiſh or extenuate the Grandeur of Majeſty. Theſe condeſcentions (Kings know well) are great artifices of their own making, which when the fiſh is caught, they underſtand and know how to unravel and break the Nets to their own advantage. The Scripture teacheth that the woman is to be ſubject to the man, and not the man to the woman. Had not this divine rule given liberty and diſpenſation to this Princes action and choice, Policy (a more liberal, and free diſpenſer of her counſels) would not ſtick at the diſcouragement of ſuch reſolutions which endeavour to graſp at ſupream authority. The example of Ferdinando and Iſabella demonſtrate that Maſculine Nobleneſs ſubjected to Feminine fancies, and their mutable pleaſures is neither ſo ſatisfactory, ſo honourable, nor ſo ſafe. And that other example of Philip the ſecond, who married Mary Queen of England, manifeſteth that ſuch a conjunction with an expectation of Soveraignties as concomitant, proveth but a more fine golden chain to bind faſter (at pleaſure) Royal ambitions for ſo was that Prince deluded and abuſed in his expectation, who inſtead of Soveraign commands, had only the honour of a Title, joyned in Commiſſions and Coyns, but had not the power to exerciſe the Royal office. It is apparent then, a Scepter is only fit for one, and not two hands, and that a Crown (being circular in form) is only proper for one Soveraign head. The two famous Queens of Naples have taught all the world the dangers of pretending to hold Crowns by female rights: And this Prince was a perſon too ſage and prudent to expoſe his Royal advantages to ſuch caſual alterations, having made ſo noble a Conqueſt, he holdeth ſtill faſt his ſword in his hand, and eſpouſeth Elizabeth with all her rights and poſſibilities, & wiſely chuſeth and declareth none but his own title, keeping thoſe others as great Souldiers do their Reſerves, at diſtance, rather to terrifie, than to fight, unleſs there be great occaſion. In this action this King, whatever he pretended of Grace to Eliz. and ſo to be a great Moraliſt, herein hath left to the world this teſtimony; That he was acquainted with the deepeſt and moſt profound wayes of Policy, and therefore did more prudently make his election, and ſo pitch his reſolution, rather to reign by his own, than the pretence or right of any other. Now if from an action of ſuch famous valour and prudence, we alter our diſcourſe to another as eminent for fidelity; here is an example in the perſon of an Infidel Prince, which is moſt remarkable. Soliman the ſecond (that Prince who was the glory of the Ottoman Family) promiſed to John, King of Hungary, to eſtabliſh his Empire, to which purpoſe Soliman was earneſt, conſtant & faithful to his reſolution: but the War being ſomewhat unfortunate, or leſs ſucceſsful, and having loſt the lives of 100000 men, the Baſſaws, and Turkiſh Commanders would have interrupted and prevented the ſaid Kings Inveſtment and Inauguration unto the Kingdom of Hungary, though Soliman had made his royal promiſe: But ſee here Solimans Diſcourſe and Reaſons which caused that generous Monarch to keep his Faith and Reſolution, and to crown glorioufly John in the famous Town of Bude. SOLI-

SOLIMAN
TO
RUSTAN BASSA.

THe Counſel which you give me, might have been approved by *Mahomet* the ſecond, but not by *Soliman*; That Prince, who kept not his word with the Emperour *David Cominens*, and his Children, who cauſed the death of Prince *Boſnie*, and *Methelin*, contrary to his promiſes, purſued thoſe Maximes which agree not with *Soliman*. 'Tis true, he was certainly a great Conquerour, and the *twelve Kingdoms* which he ſubdued, and thereby united the two Empires, merit much to his honour, and free his actions from being cenſured with too much rigour and ſeverity, and by what means he reigned ſo puiſſantly. And as to my own particular (becauſe I enjoyed his Conqueſts) it may leſs become me to inſult over his errors, or to rail at his proceedings againſt the Rules of exact Juſtice; yet ſeeing truth and fidelity to my word and unſpotted honour, are the marks I chiefly aim at, I ſhall not judge it irrational nor unjuſt to ſay, that *Mahomets* forfeiting of his word and promiſe, hath ſtained the beauty of his Reputation, and if he had been more ſacred in obſervation of his word and promiſe with his Enemies, he had not gained leſs true glory than his Conqueſts have rendred to his Name. I am not ignorant that *Mahomet* hath not been the ſole example of my Predeceſſors, who have falſified their Faith without the leaſt ſcruple, and that many Politicians yield and perſwade, that it is lawful to deceive thoſe whom they can delude, and that fraud and force are commendable and innocent inſtruments; and as for ſincerity, it is not laudable, much leſs neceſſary, but when advantageous and convenient. The *Chriſtians* (as well as the *Turks*) (who ſeem to be obliged by the bonds of *Religion*, and upon pains of Hell) permit theſe Rules and Maxims amongſt them very ordinarily, and have not kept their publick faith inviolable, to compaſs and effect their particular aims and deſigns; and yet ſome of the *Ottoman Princes* have been moſt exact and ſtrict in keeping of their word. Thus the magnificent *Selim* (of famous memory) though naturally haughty and ambitious, was moſt punctual in his Conditions and Articles with the Citizens of *Damaſcus*, who ſurrendring their Town, he ſaved their lives, and preſerved their goods from pillage and plunder; nay he was ſo exact to every circumſtance, that although his numerous forces had encamped, and lay round about that vaſt Town, wherein the prey and wealth was infinite, and might have largely enriched the whole Army, yet *Selim* permitted not any one ſouldier to commit the leaſt inſolence, nor ſo much as to gather a handful of fruit or herbs out of the ſtately and luxuriant Gardens which

lay round about the walls. And doſt thou know (*Ruſtan*) what advantage ſucceeded this exact curioſity of his fidelity and parole? The Inhabitants of *Damaſcus* gave more by a peaceable ſurrender, and the Emperour received more, than he and his Army could have gotten if they had pillaged the Town; for by this example of the Emperours exact law of his word, the Towns of *Barute*, of *Sidon*, of *Tripoly*, of *Ptolomais*, and (ſpeedily after) thoſe of *Syria* ſubmitted, and ſurrendred on the faith and credit of the Emperours word; by this means a great hardſhip of War, and an expenſive and vaſt charge was ſaved, and the lives of many thouſands preſerved from death. But you may tell me, (*Ruſtan*) the chief means to enlarge Territories, or to confirm or aſſure Conqueſts, to deſtroy Enemies, to invade Towns, to ſubdue Provinces, and Kingdoms, is it not by joining fraud and deceit with Force and Arms? and by pretending Faith, but not intending to keep it? are not Towns ſurrendred, the Gates of Caſtles and Forts opened to ſpecious and ſmooth deluſions? whereby great and potent Adverſaries have committed themſelves (in perſon) to their Enemies? What need we ſearch farther than into the Hiſtories of the firſt Founders of the *Ottoman* Family, as well as into the Life of the valiant *Orchan*, who ſucceeded them; we ſhall find that if they had not as well uſed artificial deluſions, fraud and falſhood, they had not ſo frequently ſurprized Towns, ſubdued Provinces, nor conquered Kingdoms, nor laid ſuch ſtrong foundations to that *Empire* which I now poſſeſs, and which appears in its preſent condition to foretel her happy fruition of her Victories to as great glory and duration as the *Romans* extended theirs. Do you not then think that too ſtrict and punctual obſervation to your Faith and Word, may be an obſtacle to your agrandizing and future eſtabliſhment of your Empire? To all theſe I anſwer, I am of the contrary opinion, as believing that an honourable regard of ones word, and a conſervation of his Faith ſolemnly and publickly given, is the beſt way and means to begin, to enlarge, or to eſtabliſh a Soveraignty. When I call to mind then, and examine my faith and promiſe made to King *John*, and my Ingagement to uſe my beſt endeavors to eſtabliſh him in his Throne, judge you if I be not obliged to keep my word inviolable: for which all Mortals are ſtrictly bound if they reſolve not to forget humanity and honour, and true renown; and if ſo ſevere a tie be morally imprinted on the ſouls of all men, how particularly are *Princes*, who are in degrees of honour as far tranſcendent to their Subjects, as the leſſer Stars are inferiour to the luſtre of the Sun: For in the obſervation of their Royal Parole, the peoples happineſs, and the Soveraignes glory chiefly conſiſteth. To confirm this Argument, and ſo to know more exactly the ſacredneſs of promiſes, you may conſider that the Religions of all kinds which ever were or ſhall be, have never reſtrained, nor ever ſhall oblige the people, but by this way. Heaven it ſelf is witneſs by the conſtancy of her motions, to what I ſay. In effect, what diſorder & confuſion would ſucceed to any eſtate, if men ſhould declare & make open profeſſion, that they did not regard what they did ſay or promiſe? what would be the diſorder, and how irregular the ſociety in every particular party? what inconveniency, and a general diſturbance to all commerce? and what union and agreement can be expected or hoped for amongſt the people, which is the very foundation, and frameth a ſolidity to the ſtation and continuance of Empires? It is through faith

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in promiſes that amity and friendſhip are preſerved, that all Artizans and Labourers work with ſo much curioſity and pains; this cauſeth the Marriners to imbarque, and ſo boldly to adventure their lives at Sea, this encourageth the *Souldiers* to be ſo hardy and valiant in the Wars: And without this, it would be impoſſible to govern either in peace or war. So then the keeping of faith inviolate, conduceth much to the rule and government of all the Univerſe, and is as neceſſary to humane Society, as a foundation is to a ſtately and magnificent ſtructure. Without this incomparable bond all ſociety would be diſſolved into confuſion, Laws be deſpiſed and ſcorned, Fathers would not have any reverence from their Children, nor Children any kindneſs from their Parents, Friends would grow perfidious, Commanders would trample on their Souldiers, and they, as inſolently injure or forſake their Commanders, Subjects would have no aſſurance in their Princes, nor Princes any reſpect or honour from their Subjects. You ſee then (*Ruſtan*) that a conſtant obſervation to ones faith and parole, is not only honourable but neceſſary; and without which it were impoſſible but to go into moſt irreparable misfortunes. Moreover this quality is the more noble, becauſe no creature is capable to effectuate in this kind but only rational, and the incomparable Creature man; as for other qualities they may be acquired by Habits, or poſſeſſed by Temperaments and natural Inſtincts, as appears in the very Brutes. We find fidelity in *Dogs*, love in the *Turtles*, violent inclinations of tenderneſs in the *Male* and *Female* Creatures towards their young ones; the Lions have their generoſity and boldneſs, the Serpents their prudence, the Elephants their wit and memory, and the little Ants their providence in their Oeconomy; but as for the obſervation of faith and promiſes, thoſe are actions only belonging to man, by which he becometh Maſter of anothers will as well as of his own; ſo that in theſe occaſions it may be well ſaid, that there is a neceſſity as indiſpenſable to keep ones word, as to obey a Law before a promiſe made; this caution is ever to be uſed, *that no man exceed the real and abſolute limits of his own power, not to engage his faith in any thing evil in it ſelf, or injurious to another*. Theſe limitations firſt propoſed, faith is obligatory and binding, and no retractation to be admitted, which in it ſelf cannot be leſs than baſe and diſhonourable. Theſe conſiderations concern perſons of all degrees; and as for Kings, *they are not free from the obligation of their Parole more than the meaneſt of their Subjects*: for if they make a promiſe to their equals, and fail in it, their equals may force and compel them to a performance; and if to their inferiors, juſtice and honour obliges them to be exact to their own will and pleaſure, which once engaged, is not longer free, but hath a tie and obligation on it, which they have impoſed and framed to themſelves. There cannot be then (with juſtice and honour) a failing in Faith, nor any fair evaſion; the very poſſibility which Princes have in their own power not to oblige themſelves to any promiſe, foretels their facility to obſervation, which they cannot (but againſt their own reaſon) diſanul and diſpence withal. Nay if a Prince ſhall condeſcend to a reſolution & ſolemn promiſe, to depoſe his Crown, I cannot but judge it more glorious for him to keep his word, than to hold his Scepter. Fundamental Laws (though in themſelves ſacred and inviolable) yet ought not to be in ſo great a veneration with a Prince as obſervation to his own word; for it may ſo arrive in the revolution of Ages, that Policy may

may permit and perſwade to change and alter thoſe firſt Ordinances, which have founded and ſupported a *Monarchy*; but as for the word of a *King*, it ought to be unchangeable; otherwiſe, levity and falſhood will ſo ſpot his reputation, that he will hardly ever obliterate the ſtain of Infamy; and what fidelity or loyalty can be expected from Subjects to be paid to him, who is not noble and faithful to himſelf? If you object (*Ruſtan*) that the King is leſs obliged becauſe he is ſo tranſcendent above them; I anſwer, a Prince is free before he pleaſeth to promiſe; but if he ſhall fail afterwards, to gratifie his humour or ambition, or to give way to his own paſſions, he will provoke not only his peoples hatred, but (if poſſible) their revenge; who though they do not command, do expect, that he ſhould obey the dictates of his own will; and if this intercourſe ſhould fail, how ſhould the Prince confide in his people, or they in him? If I ſhould deſign a noble recompence to my *Baſhaws* and *Janizaries*, in caſe they ſhould effect ſome noble and grand enterprize, might I not give a dangerous check to my commands and power, if I ſhould ſtart from my word, and ſo they ſhould fail in their reward? If I were engaged with my Army before a Town, and reſolved to ſubdue it, and encouraged my Souldiers to ſtorm and take it, and gave them promiſe of the Prey and Pillage, and then did not prove noble and faithful, and did not recompence them, having adventured their lives in the aſſault and breach, with ſuch violence and mettle to get the Victory; might not ſuch infidelity not only loſe mine honour, but provoke a Mutiny, and hazard the loſs of mine own Army? Again, if the Inhabitants of a Town ſhould agree voluntarily to ſubmit without other conditions, but the ſaving of their lives, and after I had received the Keys of their Ports, and the Gates were open, then I ſhould ſuffer them to fall by the edge of the ſword, would not ſuch an Act obſcure the honour of a Soveraign Prince, and force the remainder and ſurvivant party to fight and diſpute to the laſt drop of their bloods? and might not ſuch unworthineſs cauſe mine own Souldiers to turn Cowards, or make them turn their Swords againſt their own Prince? would not ſuch Actions as theſe increaſe the valour of the Enemy, cauſe them to redouble their Guards, and inſpire them with new deſignes, to deceive with falſhood him whom they could neither ſubdue nor believe? were not ſuch a Prince indangered to be cenſured as the firebrand of his Age, and as well born to be the Enemy of his Neighbours, and the odium of his own Subjects, as of his Enemies? And as for Princes, if they as well conſider their intereſt as their honour, they are not only obliged for their advantage, to whom they have promiſed, but likewiſe for their own ends: And it is a great diſpute, whether it be of greater importance to keep faith with friends or enemies; and the moſt ſubtil Politicians do conclude, that in a caſe of abſolute neceſſity, *a breach with friends is more tolerable than with enemies*, whoſe eyes are moſt acute and exact, to obſerve every ſcruple of Conditions or Articles covenanted to them: For when our Allies, our Friends, and our Subjects do affie in us, they do no more than their duties and devoris; of which, if they failed, their neglect were injury; and conſequently their truſt in us augmenteth our glory, and equitably obligeth us to keep our faith with them; but when it arriveth that our profeſſed Enemies place their aſſurance in our parole, this is an infallibe mark of that eſtimation which they have of our virtue, not of our power: And this conception

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tion worketh for our glory, and teſtifieth ſo much for our generoſity, that (I dare boldly ſay) *If it be injuſtice and baſeneſs to forfeit ones parole to his friend; it is an act of more horrid ignobleneſs, mixt with perfidiouſneſs and impudency, not to keep faith with an enemy.* I cannot then with my honour let this opportunity eſcape, which Fortune now preſenteth, but I muſt obſerve that which I have promiſed to this diſtreſſed Prince; to him (I ſay) who hath not forgotten, what ruine and ravages our Armies have committed in his Kingdom. He it is who confideth in us, and hath choſen him who was the greateſt Enemy to his Kingdom to be the *Protector* of his *Crown.* We cannot delude his hopes, (*Ruſtan*) nor with any honour recede from our promiſe. I know well that ſome rules of Policy oppoſe my deſign. If I ſhould make uſe of them, and if I ſhould permit an interruption, many conſiderations will ariſe, and you may tell me (firſt) that *John* engaged me to this War, and that the Fates, which govern all things, have produced ſad and black effects to both parties, ſince I have taken the *Forts* of *Bude*, and thoſe of *Altemberg*, that other of *Komare*, of *Wiſſegrade*, and all other along the *Danube:* My Army have pillaged all *Syria*, and made an infinite number of Slaves, and have ſo terrified the Emperour *Ferdinando*, that he durſt not preſume, with his Army once to face my force; and after all theſe ſucceſſes, I am at laſt triumphant in the Town of *Bude*, ready to inveſt and re-enthrone *John* King of *Hungary*; and if that Siege of *Vienna*, and the extremity of the winter have cauſed me to loſe an hundred thouſand men, I might ſeem to complain rather of this Prince, than to render to him his Kingdom, and honour him with his Crown. This may agree beſt with your ſence; but it is true, I cannot ſubmit to your judgment. If inſtead of one, I had loſt two hundred thouſand men, I ſhould not have deſiſted from mine intentions, out of meer conſideration to my faith and promiſe. I never ſuffered my profit and advantage, to be competitors or comparative with my Glory and Renown. And when I ſhall fail to be a ſtrict obſerver of my Faith, I cannot judge my ſelf worthy of reſpect or honour. Of all the waies of Conqueſt, theſe are moſt ſure which are effected with leaſt violence. In making a *King* my *Tributary* and Vaſſal, I create a more illuſtrious ſlave to be as faithful and obedient, as if impriſoned with fettered Chains. The *recognition of diſtreſſes relieved, oblige a Prince more powerfully than the ſtricteſt ſervitude:* And *thoſe Tributes which are paid to a King by a voluntary contribution, do more enrich his Treaſure, than thoſe which are exacted.* For you cannot be ignorant how that in a Countrey newly conquered, Garriſons are to be eſtabliſhed in the principal Forts and Towns; beſides, it is to be provided, that an Army be ready to march on all occaſions, to be ready to oppoſe all reſiſtance that may ariſe, & yet this care & providence is to be exerciſed, to ſee that the people be not utterly deſtroyed as well as ſubdued from the power of Revolts: Policy teaching that they have not too much liberty, leſt they grow inſolent, nor too ſevere a ſervitude, leſt they grow deſperate; *a mixture of gentleneſs with rigour is neceſſary in lawful Royalty, but more abſolutely inſeparable from the foundation of new Conqueſts.* Moreover, in the eſtabliſhment of a Tributary Prince, more ſweetneſs & indulgence is tolerable, becauſe he is ſubſtituted to all care, charge and pains, & ſuch a conqueſt is as well without inquietude as danger. If I had intended otherwiſe, I muſt have fought many Battels, beſieged many towns, & (beſides a hazard not to have obtained what I now enjoy)

I might have loſt honour and reputation. Moreover my violation of faith with this Prince, might have united and provoked other Princes to levie forces, and march unanimouſly againſt me: And what grace or honour might that Emperour expect, but rather a general deteſtation from all, who deſerved to be branded with ignominy and reproach, for being perfidious and falſe? will not both Princes and Subjects act to ſave their lives, to defend their Countrey, preſerve their Liberties, and revenge their Prince from a faithleſs and perfidious perſon? But you will tell me (*Ruſtan*) after ſo many Battels, and ſo many ſignal advantages, what need I fear, and what might I not hope for? No, no, *Fortune is too mutable a Lady to be confided in: We are not to abuſe her favours, nor ſcorn her liberality, nor to depend on the conſtancy of her graces, who is ſo changeable at her pleaſure,* She who hath given us all theſe Victories, hath power to deprive us of them, and as oft as I think what great obſtacles ſtood in the way, to oppoſe the mighty ſucceſs of valiant *Scanderbeg*, and *Mahomet*, and many of my Anceſtors; I cannot prudently be over-confident in my own Armies, my enemies weakneſs, nor my own valour. For *it is poſſible, that the greateſt Conquerors may be vanquiſhed*, and conſequently, nothing is to be hazarded highly. The Fortunes which attended *Amurath* and *Bajazet*, may alſo wait on me, and another *Caſtriot* or *Tamerlaine* may ariſe to prevail over me. Let us not then abuſe our Enemies in the forfeiting of our Faith, nor thereby occaſion all the world to oppoſe and hate us, which they may do without injuſtice, and then the fates produce ſtrange and wonderful effects. *Marcellus* ſtopped the progreſs of *Hannibal*, when he was highly engaged; *Camillus* preſerved his Countrey, when it was feared he would have deſtroyed it. Beſides all theſe reaſons, the *Senate* and *Republick* of *Rome* affords us examples of admitting Kings to be Tributaries, Slaves and Vaſſals. And if true Renown be ſo exceedingly glorious in the ſubjection of the common People; how ſuper-excellent and moſt illuſtrious is a command over Kings and Princes? Thus *Antonius* marcht with *two and twenty Princes* (as his Royal attendance) into *Alexandria*. This infallible enſign of honour declares to all the world, that the *Romans* made not alwaies their Enemies their Slaves, but gave them liberty to *wear* their *Crowns*, to make their Royal equipage more glorious. *It is one of the greateſt ſecrets of Policy ſo to temper and manage affairs, as to make our enemies ſerviceable to us.* And no advantage can be higher, than to make them fight for us, who fought againſt us. And as for this Kingdom of *Hungary*, which is now divided by the Factions of *John* and *Ferdinando*, it would be (doubtleſs) united againſt me, if I ſhould be perfidious to that party which I am engaged to: And ſo that whole Countrey become mine enemies, which (on theſe terms) are reduced to be my Vaſſals: By this action I ſhall either augment my Soveraignty; or, if the diviſion continues, more infeeble the adverſe party. *Princes ought deeply to conſider before they engage their faith; but if they value their honour, they are obliged to perform their promiſe, though it ſucceed with the greateſt loſs.* This Obligation bindeth more eſſentially, becauſe it is a vow not made to Subjects, but to a Prince, by one in diſtreſs; he who renders himſelf my Vaſſal, and hath truſted to my word for the ſafety of his perſon. And ſhould my falſhood make my advantage in a Princes neceſſity, who relies on my fidelity, and flies to me for ſuccour? When the Emperour

Ferdinando

Ferdinando (who is an enemy formidable enough) desired my Alliance, I publickly both refused and scorned his Amity: And it had not become me now to have admitted this Prince to the secresie of my promise & resolutions, if I had not first exactly examined how far I might condescend and adventure for his protection. No, no (*Rustan*) I should rather chuse to lose my life, than to forfeit my Parole, which I shall preserve so inviolable, that I shall Crown King *John* with mine own hands, that all posterity may learn from me that it is a necessary obligation (equally concerning the peoples good, as well as the Princes glory) to keep and guard their promises without any fraud or violation. It is by this indivisible chain that the universal society of Mankind subsisteth in that union which enableth so many diverse Nations to treat and commerce so unanimously in their affairs. This is that sacred bond which causeth voluntarily the arms of so many thousands (though enemies) peacefully to be laid down. This is that solemn assurance which perswadeth and secureth peace after bloudy Wars. If men should not have a regard and observation to their Parole, *Justice, which is the foundation of all virtues, would find no place for her feet to stand in all the world*; and if she failed, all other virtues would lose their grace and beauty; Justice it self would lose her denomination, and be stiled rigour or severity: Clemency would be reputed too much indulgent levity; Liberality would be censured prodigality; and Valour (if not successful) would be accounted rashness, or too much confidence. And it is true, though *virtues consist in moderation, yet when the action is not seasonable, they seem to wear the habits of vice.* But as for fidelity to ones Parole, it admits of no various explications, but ought to be exactly observed at all times, in all places, and with all persons; and as to mine own resolutions (being a Soveraign Prince) I shall not be false, but faithful to all, whether Kings or Shepherds; nor fail in that (which seems most difficult) to keep my Parole with mine Enemy. This Law is properly mine own, because voluntary; therefore to be obeyed without all repugnancy. It is in this resolution wherein my reason is so mightily convinced, that I reverence the sanctity of publick Faith; to violate which, becomes not men, much less Kings. And as for my self, to be false to my Faith I am incapable.

The Censure.

SEe *here the noble and generous resolutions of a Prince (who reverencing the* Alcoran, *and only adoring the lies and fictions of* Mahomet) *appears a very gallant and illustrious soul, exceeding many Christian Princes for his fidelity to his Parole and promise. Divinity gives us leave to acknowledge, that those high degrees of honour and felicity, which accompanied this great Prince, were as a temporal recompence wherewith God was pleased to requite him, and so make more renowned his Moral virtues. Oh that this Emperour, (though a* Turk) *had been alive to shame that dangerous Politician; who, (though a Christian) had the impudence to write and publish to the world*; That wise Princes ought not to observe their promises but when they tend to their utility and advantages. *Who would believe that one who wears a* Turban, *should be more moral than he who bears a Christian Crown? The same*

Author ſaies, If all men were honeſt, that precept were not neceſſary; but becauſe many are falſe and wicked, it is therefore more tolerable, and for that reaſon, that they regard not their Faith, Princes are not obliged to theirs; who can never want ſpecious pretences for their failings. *This Poſition is as wicked as that other; and his warrant (though from the Scripture) is not Logical; it is true,* David *ſaith,* all men are liars; *but the Politician cannot conclude thence a diſpenſation for fraud and infidelity; one man judgeth of another by his words or actions, but* God alone judgeth of the heart. *The Counſel of diſſimulation, if it be conſiſtent with Policy, agrees not at all with* Theological *truth: And is not the being (as well as the appearing) to be honeſt and juſt, requiſite and neceſſary in a Prince? Or have the Reigns of all good and virtuous Princes been miſerable and unfortunate? Or is there no other means to prevent miſeries and ill, but by the practice of a Leſſon (in it ſelf) ſo damnable? Is there no other way to uphold* Crowns *and* Monarchies *but by ſuch black and damnable Maximes of State? Another rule follows as dangerous (as thoſe which went before) which is,* that it is not neceſſary for Princes really to be what they ſeem, nor to keep faith in any thing, but what ſerves their turn. *Oh what horrour theſe Principles contain in them! Let this dangerous* Florentine *poiſon the world as far as he can with his infectious Principles; yet I dare to ſay, his Maxims are as empty and void of Reaſon as Religion. Fidelity is eſſential to any Illuſtrious Prince, without which he can neither reign happily nor gloriouſly: and 'tis certain,* frequent diſſimulations, and infidelity in Princes to their Paroles, make ſudden troubles, or admit but of ſhort reigns; *Therefore they ought to be kept inviolable and with more ſacred reverence, though compacted with the greateſt Enemies. For Princes are at liberty, before they promiſe; but once engaged, ought to be ſubſervient to their Dictates and deſires of their own wills: And* whoever faileth to keep his Faith, loſeth his honour and common honeſty. *And* a being not obliged by the rules of Religion, giveth a check to all Rights both humane and divine. *But I ſee a great Champion and an illuſtrious Commander contradicting this Propoſition, and urging that no rule is ſo general, but admitteth of ſome exception. Great* Scanderbeg *gained ſo famous a reputation in the world, that he merits, not to be condemned before his Reaſons be heard, and his noble actions rightly conſidered.* John Caſtriot *his Father being dead, and his Children being Hoſtages in the hands of* Amurath *the* Turkiſh *Emperour; this barbarous Prince impriſoned them, thereby the better to ſecure the Kingdom of* Albania *to himſelf. Now as the rare valour of* George Caſtriot *(whom the* Turks *called* Scanderbeg*) was infinitely neceſſary, he omitted not the leaſt occaſion, which might advantage his particular intereſt, and therefore feigned a willingneſs and reſolution to ſurrender the Kingdom to* Amurath, *with privy deſign more exactly to ſound and bottom his intentions: And (at length) meeting with a fit opportunity, when the* Turks *gave battel to the* Chriſtians, *he quitted the* Turkiſh *Armies, and facing about, charged fiercely with the* Chriſtians *againſt the* Turks, *and having given them many deſperate overthrows, he recovered his eſtate (at laſt) and the Throne of his Father.* Amurath *enraged with choler, diſpatched one of his* Janizaries, (Chaoux) *to reproach Great* Scanderbeg, *for his falſeneſs to his Parole and Promiſe, and to charge him with his infidelity: See here this famous Commanders Apology and Reaſons to juſtifie his actions to all the world: And it is not diſhonourable nor inglorious to break promiſe with thoſe who keep not Faith, but are perfidious.*

SCANDERBEG

GEORGE CASTRIOT, otherwise called Scanderbeg Prince of Epirus, Scourge of the Turkes. He slew Fera Bassa with his owne hand, Cheife Comander of Amuraths army, Overran the countrey of Macedonia, Overthrew 5 Turks army consisting of 40000. still remayning victorin many battells by his valour and pollicie

SCANDERBEG
TO HIS
COUNCIL of OFFICERS
AND
COMMANDERS.

THE Ambaſſador of *Amurath* (having reproached me in the behalf of the *Emperour* his Maſter) hath dared to charge my Reputation, with the ugly crimes of *Perfidiouſneſs* and *Treaſons*: which ſcandals and accuſations my Soul ſcorns and abhors; If all men in the World ſhould not be as equally guilty of thoſe Errours as my ſelf; and ſeeing *Alexander* the *Great* loved not Glory it ſelf, but with ſcrupulous Curioſity, and he bravely affirmed, that *he inwardly abhorred to ſteal a Victory*, by ſurprizing it in obſcurity or the night: I preſume, I may be admitted to conclude, that I hate the thoughts to have ſtoln that glory away which I poſſeſs, had I not acquired it by noble and illuſtrious means. Be you then my Judges in this point (although my Officers and Subjects) examine my actions with the greateſt rigour, that the ſeverity of Juſtice or the brightneſs of true generoſity can exact or require, and be not partial, (for ſo I conjure you) whether or no, thoſe may forfeit the glory of their Valour and Faith juſtly, who have been provoked by actions of infidelity from others? and whether this reciprocall retaliation may not be honourably ſupported and grounded on the Baſis and Foundation of Reaſon. I know well, that *publick Faith ought to be placed and ranked with the moſt choice and ſacred things*; but not to be ſincere nor to keep Faith with him, who hath firſt violated that ſacred bond, is not only lawful, but commendable, and an Action which ſeems guided with Reaſon and Juſtice. This is the chiefeſt argument of my diſcourſe, which cannot but honourably patronize what I ſhall maintain and defend. *The Laws of Nations*, which (doubtleſs) approach neareſt to Nature and Reaſon, *have not ordained puniſhment to him, who kills an Enemie when he aſſaults and would aſſaſſinate, but they permit repulſion of force by force.* And is it not as equally juſt to puniſh and revenge thoſe (who pretending to protect innocency) have actually deſigned to ruine and deſtroy? Is not a defence and preſervation lawful, when Faith is firſt violated, and nothing but miſchief intended? Is power therefore juſt, becauſe 'tis great? or may men do miſchief equitably, becauſe they are able? and may not a ſelf-defence, or the deſtruction of a per-

fidious Enemy be as equally tolerated? And (if we ſhould now paſs from particular quarrels to open and publick Wars) is it not moſt true, and that either in hoſtile invaſions, or inteſtine broils, that one party is more criminous and unjuſt than the other; and ſo the firſt Invader or Diſturber of peace? To make more particular inſtance; ſeeing that *Amurath* hath invaded the Kingdom of his *Allie*, ſurprized his Towns, ſuborned his Subjects, pillaged his Countrey, and hath received the Prince and his Children *Hoſtages*, and afterwards broken and violated his Faith; are not theſe provocations too horrid and inſufferable? and can they juſtly expect any recompence, but of wrath and revenge, if a Power offended, be rendred capable to make ſuch a requital? On theſe conſiderations, the world cannot but diſcharge me from the guilt of being either perfidious or traiterous. *He who firſt violateth his Faith, and is an Invader of the Princely Soveraignty of his Neighbour, authorizeth his Enemy to all endeavours to make his higheſt Revenges on him.* And he who before was criminous, and therefore puniſhed, becometh innocent and juſt; and that which the Enemy calleth Treaſon, is a ſage Conduct of Affairs; that which he termeth Cruelty, becomes a natural and juſt defence. So then, that which is permitted by the Laws of Nations to private perſons, and which injuries and bitter extremities have neceſſitated, cannot but be allowed to my juſt and rational defence. To this purpoſe, I cannot but look on *Amurath* as my particular enemy, cauſing the death of my *Brothers*, whom he barbarouſly *poiſoned*, and ſo as the publick and common enemy of my Eſtate, which he had moſt unjuſtly uſurped. And if (in my own perſon) I have moſt miraculouſly eſcaped, doubtleſs my comportment guarded me more ſecurely: For I reſpected him ceremoniouſly as a great *Prince*, preventing his ſuſpitions with my prudence; and if I have learned to forfeit my *Parole*, I received that direction from the infidelity and falſhood of *Amurath*, by which means I have found a way open to revenge the death of my *Brothers* by ſlaying his *Baſſaws*; and have requited the ruines of my Conntrey, with the defeats of his Armies. Yet if you will make a clearer inſpection, and dive more deep to ſearch the reaſons of my proceedings, I muſt put you in mind how ancient *Macedonia* (that famous City) was aſſaulted by this puiſſant enemy; that *Albania* (formerly but a Province) endured many of his violences, as other neighbouring and vicine Territories. At length King *John* my Father (tired with the continuance of the War, and touched compaſſionately for the miſeries of his people) reſolved to render himſelf Tributary to his Empire, and to this purpoſe he committed his Children hoſtages, hoping, that when my Father died, this cruel *Monſter* would have ſent one of his Sons to have been his Succeſſor to have reigned over his Subjects: But (O juſt Heavens) at that very time when I was fighting for him, and expoſing my life for his Service in the atchievements of his glory and renown, the King my Father dying, he diſpatched *Sebalick* (his Creature) with troops of Horſe and Foot to ſeize on the Noble City of *Croy*, & all the reſt of the chief Towns of *Albania*; at which time he exiled the Queen my Mother to a poor pittance and corner of the world, without reſpect nnto her perſon, who as ſhe was a Qu.ſo ſhe was the Daughter of the K. of *Triballieus*; & if he ſpared my perſon (in this juncture of affairs) it was not through any affection or reſentment to humanity or Juſtice,

but

but onely for that reaſon, becauſe he conceived he might make great advantage by my conduct and employment in his Wars and ſervice: Which if I had pleaſed to quit, he might (happily) have loſt a conſiderable part of his Army. And hitherto, what hath *Scanderbeg* done againſt *Amurath*? Or rather what offices of love doth not *Amurath* owe to *Scanderbeg*? hath his fidelity in any proportion been equal to mine? How could I not (if I had thought fit) have refuſed his firſt employments, and continued my repoſe within his Court? *Hoſtages* are more noble then to be treated as Slaves: And if I had not been encouraged by the generoſity of mine own ſpirit, I would not have expoſed my life or honour for his ſervice: And ſeeing that (at that time) he punctually kept conditions, agreed on by the King my Father, I had cauſe to hope that he would continue a ſucceſſion to his fidelity. Grounded on this confidence, I reſolved to gratifie his Commands with my choiceſt endeavours, expecting that when that Prince ſhould die, to whom I was ſucceſſour, I might aſcend his throne, and ſo by double obligations, he might be more firmly bound to keep his Faith and Parole. It was this apprehenſion that invited me to take the charge of *Sangiac*, and without being ſo much as a *Mahometan*, I forbore not to appear a rigid *Turk*. In the firſt troubles of *Aſia*, I commanded a party of *five hundred men*, with ſo good ſucceſs, that the very reputation of that ſervice rendered me capable to be made *General* of his ſecond Army, wherewith I effected marvellous advantages to the *Empire*. You cannot but remember how *Amurath* received, or rather ſlighted me at *Andrianople*, when, after ſo famous a Victory I reconducted his Army, without the loſs of more then *two hundred men*, when the ſpoils of the enemies appeared ſo great, that they amazed *Amurath*, as well as other ſpectators, to behold ſo great riches, ſo many ſlaves, ſuch a number of Flags, Enſigns, and bruiſed and battered Arms recovered from the Enemies; then the multitudes could not be reſtrained from calling me the *Reſtaurator* of his Empire. Beſides this (it may be) you will remember in what faſhion I preſerved the honour of that Nation, when that audacious and fierce *Scythian* preſented a defiance to the *Sultan*, to that end that one of his Court Champions might have accepted the Challenge, and when no other perſon was found inclinable and reſolute, I undertook the Combat; and if I had not vanquiſhed the inſolent and furious *Scythian* by my magnanimity, and valour, the diſgrace and ſhame would have much reflected on the Emperour. At the ſame time I hazarded my life to all other adventures and dangers. At the taking of *Nicomedia* and of *Pruſia*, I was as active and bold as the meaneſt and deſperateſt Souldier: And when I thought of that prodigious action of *Alexander* the Great in the City of *Oxidraques*, I leaped on the walls of the Town, and thence deſcended with equal courage, and though I dare not ſay I had the valour of that famous *Hero* (of whom I ſpeak), and though I may be cenſured over raſh and bold, yet my confidence, and temerity were not without equal ſucceſs: For (without vainglory) I was then the chief and ſole cauſe of ſurpriſing that Town; and ſince then (may I ſpeak it without oſtentation) what eminent things have I not done in *Europe* againſt the *Chriſtians*, as well as in *Greece* and *Hungary*? Wherein I have been a fortunate inſtrument, if not of vanquiſhing the *Chriſtians*, yet of defending the *Turks* againſt their powerful Armies. Do all theſe actions merit neglect, or (much leſs)

per-

perfidious infidelity? Or hath my fidelity been ſo great, and my valour ſo ſucceſsful, as to cauſe *Amurath* to be perfidious to his promiſes? Hath he no other reward (after his ſolemn engagements and promiſes) but to uſurp the Kingdom of my *Father*; to exile the Queen my Mother, to poiſon my Brothers, and likewiſe to deſign me to be an Illuſtrious ſlave? And not to ſuffer me longer to live; then I might ſerve his advantages, and by the conduct of Wars be able to defeat his enemies, and eſtabliſh his Throne? Do you believe (after ſuch Treaties as theſe) that I can commit any act of Injuſtice in failing of my faith to one who ſo baſely and barbarouſly abuſed our royal Family? Yet (perhaps) you will tell me, that *Falſhood is a thing ſo deteſtable, as not to be excuſed, much leſs juſtified.* If that rule and maxime be general, and admits no exception, the Military art muſt loſe a great part of it ſelf. Then there will be no farther uſe of Stratagems, nor Ambuſcadoes; then Towns ſhould never be ſurpriſed, nor the Enemies interrupted with Alarums; then there would be no Combats in the night, nor any occaſion of Spies; we needed not feign Retreats to engage an Enemy to fight; but it would be neceſſary to number the Forces of both parties, to make the combats equal; and Judges would be expedient in the Camp as well as at a Combat of Barriers, or Tournies; to ſee that the Sun were not more ſplendent in the eyes of the one, then of the other: Admit this abſurdity and evil conſequences, there would be no need of Generals in Armies, but the valour of the vigorous and hardy Souldiers would be ſufficient to diſpute and gain the Field; then the extraordinary prudence, and judicious experience of the greateſt Commanders would be uſeleſs and impertinent. Another objection may ariſe, that theſe circumſtances of War, are not onely tollerable but juſt, and neceſſary, againſt declared enemies. To that I anſwer, *Publick contracts betwixt Crowns are more ſacred and inviolable then agreements betwixt private perſons.* And when an Emperour treateth with a Prince, and keepeth not his Parole, he forceth him to be his Enemy, and dareth him to the height of revenge by his perfidious actions, which are not only reſented by my ſelf, but appear clearly to all the world how much I have been injured, and abuſed by *Amurath*; for when my Father died, and *Amurath* had exiled the Queen (my mother), and had poiſoned my Brothers, in a fained manner, pretending to Generoſity, he ſeemed inclinable to offer me the Crown of *Albania* with a reſerved intention, if I accepted of it, to ſeize upon my perſon, or to put me to death. Theſe injuſt provocations as they ſummoned quickly my apprehenſions, ſo they juſtifie me not to be criminal: And as for thoſe reproaches of perfidiouſneſs and Treaſon, they reflect fully on him who was ſo barbarous and falſe. As for my comportments (ever ſince I came to his Court) did the misfortunes of my condition any whit leſſen, or abate my courage? Might I not think after ſo many actions of valour and gallantry, that my thoughts prompted me to more high, and ſublime ſucceſſes? Ought he not to have thought when he firſt uſurped the Kingdom of my Father, and put my Brothers to death, that he then effectively declared a War, and diſingaged my fidelity, which I might have owed him in the Quality of an Hoſtage; and that all theſe actions authoriſed my endeavours to revenge? Could not he underſtand that one whoſe ambition was ſo high as to aſpire to Soveraignty, and be a King, had that paſſion

which

which is ſo violent in all generous perſons? but chiefly then when they are aſſured of a lawful right to a Crown? Could he not foreſee that it was impoſſible for me to be faithful, or a friend to one who uſurped my Kingdom? *All Wars have not their commencements from the proclamations of the Heralds mouths. A ſingle action of hoſtility may engage an Army.* It is not in open War as in private Combates: In theſe latter we challenge and defie our Enemy; he accepteth the defiance, and anſwereth the Challenge. But as for publick Enemies, they make a parlie, and treat if they pleaſe; and Combates and Ceſſations of Arms are Actions equally voluntary. *Generals of Armies are ever Maſters of their wills, regulated to no bounds nor circumſtances, but what ſerves theſe advantages.* On theſe conſiderations *Amurath* might not think it ſtrange (after his Uſurpation and Murder) if I ſhould attend all advantages, and become his open enemy. *As for preparations of war (when Princes are in low condition) they are not alwaies viſible. And when one is reduced to a deplorable condition, the deſigns are only in the head, but no ingenious perſon can ſleep ſoundly or reſt ſecurely, injured and removed from Soveraignty.* And though I was in the power of mine enemy, without an Army, without a Souldier, without intelligence from any of mine own Subjects out of mine own Countrey, without a perſon that I might confide or truſt in, and without any reſiſtance to ſo great a deſign, as I harboured in my boſom (excepting the hopes of Heaven, and mine own Valour) yet, if *Amurath* had well obſerved my actions, he might have eaſily diſcerned, that I cheriſhed ſome great reſerves within my Soul. He might have ſeen the violence of my deſires in a daily aſpiring after glory and renown, and he might have read (by the ſymptoms of my heart) plainly in my countenance, that I was not capable to renounce my right to the Throne, nor be contented to be a ſlave all my life, though never ſo glorious; That love and friendſhip which I made with the Officers and Souldiers of the Army, declared that I deſigned ſome noble Enterprize for my ſelf, and perceiving that I was not an unactive Coward, it was impoſſible, but that he ſhould dream of my endeavours to revenge his Injuries. Let him then not blame any but himſelf, if his policy hath been anticipated, nor reproach me as perfidious for my deſertion of him; 'twas his fault and injury, no crime of mine. For firſt, he ought to have been in preparation to prevent all danger: And as for my ſelf, I did nothing but what became an open and noble Enemy. It was doubtleſs juſt in me to conſult how to re-conquer *Amurath's* Uſurpation, and by what way and means I might attain to the King my *Fathers* Throne. If I had diſcovered my diſcontents to his unjuſt proceedings, I had been in that moment made a Priſoner, and either ſtrangled or poiſoned the ſame day. If I had reſolved to ſend to my Subjects, and to the Inhabitants of *Croy*, to require their aſſiſtance, my deſigns might have been diſcovered, and my Subjects thereby made more miſerable, and poſſibly leſs uſeful, or elſe, from being Subjects (by this means) might have been terrified into Enemies. Now to have an abſolute confidence in the love of the *Mahometan* Souldiers (with which they courted my perſon) was a thing of great danger in appearance; and to have debauched the *Grand Seignors* Guards, and with them to have marched to the *Chriſtian Princes*, to implore their aid and ſuccours, was an attempt too curious and perilous to be effected, and if I had prevailed

vailed with them, it is uncertain, whether the Princes would have been willing or able to commence a War of ſo great importance, and to expoſe their Lives and Eſtates to hazard, to recover mine: And if they had been reſolute, the event might have been very doubtful againſt ſo formidable an Enemy, I would then in this great juncture of misfortunes, propoſe a reſolution to my ſelf, to be the ſole *Artizan* of my ſucceſſes; And if I ſurprized *Amurath*, and converted his Forces to my ſervice: I have not juſtly merited reproach and blame, but rather deſerved honour and renown. Seeing I have not done any thing but by the rules of Juſtice, nor enterprized any deſign but what *Amurath* might expect, if ever able to recompence his injuries. The great Cheat, and uſurpation wherewith he affronted me in the eyes of all the world, prepared me to ſtudy revenge, equal (if poſſible) to his Cruelty, Falſeneſs and Uſurpations, only with this difference, when *Amurath* baſely forfeited his Faith with me, he violated all rights of Honour and Juſtice; and what I have done, was an equal retortion to his merit, to which I was obliged, as bound by nature to revenge the death of my Brothers, the Liberty of my Countrey, mine own Glory, and of God alſo, *who is Juſtice it ſelf*: And had I no other conſideration, but this laſt within my thoughts, may not I urge and aſſert (noble Captains) that God was my Conductor in this action of Revenge? Wherefore to have been faithful to this *Tyrant* (to whom I was not a Subject) would not have only corroded my Conſcience, but diſhonoured that Religion I profeſs. And ſhould not I anſwer for my Subjects, if I ſuffered them to be allured to the errours of *Mahumetiſm*? And ſhall not I be culpable, and guilty of the demolition of all thoſe Altars, which the *Turks* have deſtroyed, and as criminous as if I had built thoſe *Moſques*, wherewith the *Turks* have filled thoſe Towns which belong to me? If I had longer ſerved *Amurath*, ſhould I not have made my own Subjects greater Slaves, and ſo have contributed more aſſiſtance to the *Turks*; farther to deſtroy thoſe who adored the *God* of my Fathers? Think you that *the Lord of Hoſts* could endure, that he who had been favoured with ſuch extraordinary good ſucceſſes, in warlike affairs, ſhould not employ his beſt skill and ſtrength againſt theſe Infidels? and by adventures to make themſelves *Martyrs*, if not *Conquerors*? Oh no, *the chiefeſt duty keeps us ſtrictly in our fidelity to our Altars.* Beſides, I am clearly abſolved from his reproaches, in the judgment of all the World: As for *Amurath*, he had no rules of Conſcience nor Religion to oblige his Promiſes, but he could diſpenſe with all relations, though never ſo ſacred. But theſe obligations did not reſt on me, for I was brought an infant to his Court, and he was engaged to my Father; which Conditions did not (with his ſucceſſion) derive themſelves on me. Now if after all thoſe remarkable Services, before and ſince the death of my Brothers, and thoſe memorable victories which he gained through my Counſels and valour in the re-conqueſt of *Ruſſia*, without much effuſion of his Souldiers bloud; if he were not touched with Honour, nor guided by reaſon: am I to be blamed if I exerciſe Juſtice to my ſelf, which he would not deſign to render me? or could I longer ſerve that Prince, who after ſo many eminent Atchievements of his Wars, complotted all wayes and means for my deſtruction? which to have undertaken publickly, might ſeem too dangerous, becauſe he knew

I had gained much affection with the Souldiers; And as for my impriſonment I was too well-beloved and guarded, to be ſo ſurprized, and my previſions were more diligent then to be ſuddenly intrapped; having then poſſibility to kill me neither by ſword nor poiſon, he contrived a third way, wherein he aimed to diſpatch me more honourably. Not long after our laſt return from victory, he proclaimed a ſummons to all the Noble *Heroes* of his Empire, to attend his Court, where he made preparations for martial exerciſes and famous *Tournies:* at which ſolemn meeting, he hoped that in the divers Combates wherein (poſſibly) I might make re-encounter, I might receive a foil diſhonourably, or fall fatally. (Brave Captains) I vow to Heaven, this Treaſon is not in the number of any that can be excuſed, and ſerveth my turn to be juſtly more active in revenge: When I diſcerned the depth of this perfidious action, as I was diſpatched with the Army into *Hungary:* I took my reſolutions not long to fight for mine Enemy *Amurath*, and began to think of fighting for my ſelf; I reſolved over my thoughts the power and intereſt of a General, and what it was to march before, and command an Army: Theſe Cogitations reflected on me with ſhame to my ſelf, who had ſo long a time been faithful to an infidel: I began to have a horrour, and to be diſſwaded from drenching my hands in *Chriſtians* blood: In my march, I approached near to valiant *Huniades*, who was a Commander in that Army, and he inſpired into my ears, what ſhame poſſeſſed his ſoul, marching under the *Turkiſh* Standard. Theſe diſcontents quickned my reſolutions; and when I found my opportunity, I quitted the Infantry, and withdrew from that Army: This is that which *Amurath* calls Treaſon; but 'twas a juſt reward for a mortal Enemy, whom (I acknowledge) I ſerved no longer, and whom I found would prove eternally faithleſs and ingrate. After the defeat, I retreated into my own Kingdom; you received me honourably, aſſiſted me couragiouſly, to chaſe and deſtroy the Common Enemies. And was there any blackneſs in this action? Did I contrive to take away the life of *Amurath* ignobly? or by ſuch baſe ways and means as he did mine? Did I invade his Empire as he uſurped my Kingdom? May it not be rather ſaid to the contrary, that revenge was never taken more gently, and more juſtly. And ſince I have made the Conqueſt of my Kingdom, if I have continued the War, or refuſed the Treaties of peace from *Amurath*; it is not becauſe I love not peace, but becauſe I cannot find fidelity in that Prince, with whom I am to treat; And that his ends are not honourable, but to diſarm an Enemy, whom he feared, and ſo to ſurprize (if poſſible) his Credulity, who is not to be eaſily taken by ſpecious pretences. Do not I then rather deſerve the reputation of being faithful, then perfidious? who ſo clearly manifeſt truth to my Enemy? and yet (to judge a little more exactly of this proceeding) recal into your memory (valiant Captains) I conjure you, all thoſe circumſtances of my Comportment, when I was in the head of the Armies of *Amurath*, adventuring my life to inlarge his Conqueſts, and to advance his glory: had not you moſt friendly rebuked me in ſecret, and murmured againſt me, and (not diving into the bottom of my heart) doubted whether I deſerved to have been the Son of ſo excellent a *Prince*, and concluded that I had abandoned *Chriſtianity* utterly; that the love of my Country was extinguiſht,

guiſht, and rooted out of my Soul, and conſequently, that I was not affected with any ſence of true nobleneſs, and honour? And yet in your very repinings, you made *Apologies* for my actions, better then I knew how to make for my ſelf: For you concluded that I had no other way to manifeſt my ſelf more clearly the Son of the *King* my *Father*, then by thoſe heroick actions, which I purſued in my imployment. The world will confeſs, that *men are not equally obliged to be as faithful to perfidious Enemies as to faithful Friends, to thoſe who exerciſe artifice, and fraud, as to thoſe who love ſincerity.* It is doubtleſs great unworthineſs and baſeneſs to forfeit faith, and break Parole by malice, perfidiouſneſs or mercenary intereſt; but to be unfaithful to a Traitor, to an Uſurper, to a Murderer, and to quit his ſervice for the recovery of a Crown and Kingdom, for the intereſt of a Country, and preſervation of *Chriſtianity*, if this deſertion may be cenſured perfidiouſneſs by *Amurath*, in my ſence, and in reaſon, it rather deſerves *Elogies* and *Panegyricks* then injuries and reproaches. And if it be true, that *Fortunate uſurpers advanced to eminent qualities, and attended with ſucceſſes, in time become acknowledged as legitimate Princes:* Is it not more reaſonable and true, that that Prince (to whom a Crown doth effectually appertain) deſerves the higheſt honour, who conquers and forceth it from his hands, who hath moſt unjuſtly, and tyrannouſly uſurped it? And are not all means uſed for the recovery allowed? and as for the act, doth it not rather merit the opinion of glory and renown, then the accuſation of a crime? No, no, *the obſervation of ones Parole hath as well its bounds and limitations as all other things. The intereſt of ones Country and Religion are principal, and high concernments, and admit of diſpenſations in ſome degrees.* We read, that *Rome* hath been preſerved, when Fathers have preferred her honour and ſafety before the lives of their own children: But (ſome may ſay) this was unnatural and a cruel act, yet the wiſe *Romanes* not onely permitted, but commended thoſe *Patriots* who reverenced their Country with ſo great eſtimation above their Children; and that which ſeemed cruelty, and inhumanity in private relations, appeared as a laudable ſacrifice when it ſerved (in this high obligation) to defend or protect ones Country. It is certainly true, that thoſe generous Fathers have with great zeal and deep affection, moſt ſtoutly fought for the preſervation of their children, their liberties, lives, and honours (on other occaſions) and have not ſpared to hazard the laſt drop of their blood. But where the conſideration of ones Country is in competition with love to children, the publick intereſt hath ever prevailed moſt powerfully, and affection to children is leſs vigorous, and Fathers are encouraged to ſee their children die, when it is for the ſervice of the Republique, with leſs ſorrow, and regret; and ſuch actions merit leſs of blame, and more of glory. Now if Fathers are pardonable, expoſing their children to death, how tolerable is it for me to violate my Parole, for the redemption, and preſervation of my Country? Yet you will tell me, that a *Pagan* example doth not neceſſarily produce a concluſion for a *Chriſtian*: Bnt if Heathens have thus proceeded for the defence of their Country, what may not *Chriſtians* do for the intereſt of their Religion? which bond is ſo ſacred, as it ought to be the end and aim of all their beſt endeavours: Beſides what is fit to regulate the Soveraign actions of Princes, but onely *Religion*, which *confineth rules to their Policy, and*

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ought ever to ſit Preſident in their Counſels. On theſe Principles, we repent not of our pretences to fidelity, having endured ſo long a ſervitude to obtain ſo good an end; and we believe and reſolve, that it is no diſhonour nor injuſtice to be unfaithful to an *Infidel Prince*, who hath given the occaſion by the violation of his Faith and Parole. Come on (brave Souldiers) then, let us march, without remorſe, and let us vanquiſh and deſtroy this common Enemy of Chriſtianity, and uſe all craft and art, as well as force of Arms. Let us not be ſo ſcrupulous as *Alexander the Great* (that invincible Conquerour) we are not aſſured of his Fortune, nor of his Valour; and we know certainly that we have not his Retinue and Train: let us uſe all Stratagems for our advantage, and be as active in the night as in the day; and if we vanquiſh, the Sun will glorioufly ſhew us the effects of our Conqueſts; and if we be worſted in our nocturnal and more ſecret attempts, the darkneſs will give an umbrage, and obſcure our ſhame and Cowardize, as well as hide our Misfortunes. To conclude (Generous Captains) we are reſolved to vanquiſh and effect our reſolutions, and to attain our Conqueſts; we muſt be heroick in our actions, daunted with no oppoſition, nor neglecting any occaſion of advantage. Wherefore prepare your ſelves to be practical in the military Science, that you may be as ſucceſsful as valiant. For we are but feeble and few, and the Enemies puiſſant and numerous, and if we do not ſurprize them as well as fight them, their vaſt multitudes will ſuppreſs our Valour and Courage. Thus (valiant Captains) you ſee that our Deſigns are innocent and generous; and that infidelity it ſelf to a perfidious Tyrant (being well managed) may gain immortal Honour and Glory.

The Cenſure.

THe Reaſons of Scanderbeg *appear powerful and ſtrong, yet amongſt them all there will be a general debility; if Religion had not been his warrant and juſtification for his actions. This Prince (through his incomparable valour) attempted many thouſand glorious actions, and effected wonders, to the amazement of that age wherein he lived: he defeated Armies, which for their vaſt multitudes could ſcarce be numbred: He dammed up that great Torrent which ſtopped not, till it had ravaged the moiety and greater part of the world; he cauſed one Emperour to die with ſhame, grief and diſhonour; he forced* Mahomet *the ſecond (who was the Conquerour of ſo many Empires and Kingdoms) to teſtifie, by that exceſſive joy which he conceived of his death, the extraordinary fear he had of him during his life. And (not to flatter truth) this great General* Scanderbeg, *was (doubtleſs) the greateſt* Heroe *of theſe latter Ages. Yet (not to ſpeak partially) had not the intereſt of Religion been conſiderable, all the glory of his latter actions could not have excuſed the violation of his Parole. For to face about, and join with the Enemy, in a Battel to feign a flight for fear, as being too weak, and to defeat thoſe Troops that he commanded, to ſerve the Enemy, are Circumſtances ſo odious, that they had need of all the importance and Arguments of Chriſtianity to help them to plead for a ſpecious pretence, and to Apologize. I know well Saint* Auguſtine *made his retractations, and that* repentance of former crimes is a moſt eſſential part to Religion. *I well remember that a Ca-*

non of the Council of Conſtance (*where* John Hus *and* Hierom *of* Prague *were burnt*) diſchargeth Faith, and obligeth it not to be kept with Hereticks; *and thence ſome frame the argument*, that if Faith is not to be kept with them, *much leſs with Infidels. But as this* Canon *favoureth not of Orthodox Truth, ſo it is not generally obliging, nor Catholick and Chriſtian Doctrine* (ſecundum fundamenta). *The Queſtion was in that Council* concerning the Paſport of Princes given to Hereticks, and whether they could protect them in their addreſſes and returns from Synods and Councils; *where, it ſeems, Faction, and not Truth, concludeth in the negative, aſſerting*, that particular Paſports and Conducts oblige none to keep faith, but thoſe who grant the Paſports, and not the Councils, which conſent not, and had a ſeparated power of permiſſion. *It is true, if this Canon were received as a Concluſion of an Oecumenick, General Council, then on all occaſions a man might violate his Parole and Faith to Infidels, but this queſtion is rather Theological, than Moral and Political. If this were true on the pretence of Hereſie or Infidelity, no Faith would be kept, and ſo (conſequently) humane ſociety and divine truth would be utterly deſtroyed. Now as for Morality and Policy, they conclude*, the Faith and Parole of Princes ought to be inviolable and ſacred, which if abuſed, reflects ever upon the violators, with the conſequences of irreparable ſhame, or incomparable peril. *By virtue of this argument, the action of* Scanderbeg *is more liable to cenſure: And if at preſent this Prince had drawn his Sword againſt* France *in the Kingdom of* Naples, *in favour of the King of* Arragon, *and wore a red Scarf to diſtinguiſh his reſolutions againſt the white ones of* France; *and were ſo, that the Wars were yet continued betwixt both Nations, it might be concluded from* Scanderbegs *own example, that it were lawful to be treacherous, and it were no errour to inſiſt on thoſe arguments which he uſed for his own purpoſe: But now from* Albania *let us paſs to the Kingdom of* Polonie, *and there ſee* Henry *the third of* France *on that Throne of* Polonie, *where we ſhall meet with a queſtion very curious for its examination, and moſt important to be determined, This Prince (being ſecretly advertiz'd of the death of CHARLES the Ninth his Brother) conſulteth with his Miniſters and chiefeſt Confidents, Whether he ought to prefer (in his election) a peaceable and quiet Kingdom before a Kingdom full of Wars and tumults, and humble and obedient Subjects, before Subjects revolted. And whether it were juſt to deprive* Polonie *of his Preſence, and to return to* France, *which he had ſo voluntarily abandoned. This is the Subject of the diſcourſe, which this eloquent and ingenious Prince reaſoneth as followeth.*

HENRY THE THIRD
TO
PIBRACK and *PHILIP*,
DESPOTES.

THoſe who onely judge by outward appearances, and by the external pomp which dazelleth Vulgar eyes, believe not that there can be any difficulty in the choice and election of Crowns, and imagine nothing more eaſie then to part with one Scepter to receive another, and to deſcend from one Throne to mount to another more glorious; concluding, that the change of Diadems for others more illuſtrious, is very acceptable; and that Soveraignty is agreeable with generous minds, but chiefly then when the Domination is inlarged. Yet you ſhall find it moſt certain, that it is more facile for a Priſoner and Slave to make choice of his Irons (though all puniſhments are naturally unwelcome) then for Kings to make an Election of different, and ſeveral Crowns. The Slaves know that the lighteſt chains are always the leaſt incommodious: But it is hard to determine whether the moſt illuſtrious, & ſplendent Crowns, and the moſt elevated, and ſublime Throns are moſt deſirable. As Royal Crowns may invite, ſo thoſe ſparkling Diadems ought not to dazle the eyes of thoſe who aſpire after them. *Scepters are as well ponderous and weighty, as majeſtick and glorious: The Thrones of Kings are ſeated in high elevations, and thoſe who aſcend them ought to be ſure that their Foundations are well laid, and the ſtairs and degrees firm whereby they mount them.* Now in the examination of theſe occurrences, it becometh me to conſider by what right I am King of *Polony*, and what Rights I have to the Crown of *France*. To this end, that I may preciſely determine to which of my Subjects I owe my preſence, and to which of theſe Kingdoms I may more properly beſtow my aſſiduous and daily care; this being the moſt principle motive that ſhould oblige my reſolutions juſtly to afford them my preſence, and the chiefeſt cauſe that may endear their loyalty and obedience to their Prince. As for my Subjects of *Polony*, I muſt confeſs they have freely choſen me their King, and voluntarily ſubmitted to my Domination; and (not to ſilence their bounty) have preſented me with that Crown. My Birthright hath done the ſame thing to me, and *Princes elevated to Soveraignty, owe nothing to their*

Subjects

Subjects, but hold their Scepters onely from God. Subjects have the birth of Subordination and Servitude, and Princes are of abſolute Soveraignty. As for the Suffrages of the people in the election of a King, they are bonds and chains of their abſolute obedience, riveted by their tongues in the acclamations which they cannot juſtly violate and break. And nothing elſe but expreſſions and unanimous ſubmiſſions to that power whom ſome more eminent qualities and nobleneſs hath ſet above them; *who though eligible by their conſent, yet cannot be depoſed or deſerted without the horrid crimes of Rebellion and Treaſon.* But I have not any cauſe to be jealous of my Subjects unworthineſs or diſloyalty; for I am King in *Polony* not onely by legitimate election, but in a continued approbation, being well aſſured, that there paſſeth not a day wherein I have not the conſtant Vows, Prayers, and hearty Devotions of the people, ſupplicating the Heavens for a continuation of my proſperity, and have a daily aſſurance, and ratification of their firſt Election by conſtancie of their publick Exultations. So that I reign as well in my Subjects hearts as in the Kingdom of *Polony.* They fear me reverently becauſe they love me; they obey me dutifully, becauſe I am Maſter of their affections; they ſtrive to inlarge my Domination, and to ſtrike a terrour into others, to make my Reign the more ſecure, and to preſent an impoſſibility to all endeavours, to give a check to the preſent authority, peace, plenty, and tranquillity. My Reign ſeems ſo ſolidly eſtabliſhed, that no accident can ſhake the Foundation of ſo well-grounded a Soveraignty. *What then can a Prince deſire more then the fruition of a glorious Crown, attended with the Fidelity of dutiful, and moſt loyal Subjects?* What Authority more pleaſant then to be beloved of thoſe whom we command? And to have no other thoughts nor care for Juſtice, but in conſiderations how to recompence faithful Subjects, and dutiful Servants; and to Reign ſo proſperouſly, as to have no cauſe to exerciſe the Royal virtue of Clemencie; but towards perſons more unfortunate then criminous? The ordinary means of eſtabliſhing Peace is by the Ravages of War, and the effuſion of much blood; but that which is bought by others at ſo hard a price, coſt not my Subjects a tear ſince the firſt day of my Election to the Crown. And they are ſo united Fraternally amongſt themſelves, that they are equally linked in the common intereſt of their Princes breaſt. And as the Scripture ſaith, that *God holdeth in his hands the hearts of Kings*, ſo may I ſay (but ſtill with reverence) that *the hearts of my Subjects are in the hands of my ſelf, their Prince.*

All theſe reaſons (firſt alledged) how can I with wiſdom quit my Kingdom of *Polony?* And *if ugly Ingratitude be ſo monſtrous a crime even amongſt private perſons, how deteſtable and odious ſhould it appear in the eyes of a Prince?* Who is in that ſublime degree, and ſo far above others, as not onely obliged to gratifie and recompence Civilities, but to heap honours and multiply Favours freely on perſons capable of Princely bounty and Generoſity. To abandon then thoſe ſubjects, who ſo freely choſe me their King, and that Kingdom which is ſo abundant in peace, and plenty, cannot but affect my thoughts with much trouble, and perplexity. And on the other ſide, to reſolve to adventure to wear that Crown, whoſe ſplendor is ſo much obſcured, where the Kingdom is ſo much divided,

where

where thoſe who recall me, fear me more than love me, or if they ſeem to love me, do it more for their own ends than my Service. And (farther) where there are to be found as many Rebels as Subjects, and a Civil War devouring the very heart of the Countrey, where in that great Body no one part is intirely ſound, or free from the Epidemick diſeaſe of the State. Theſe conſiderations may retard and deter my reſolutions from going to *France*. Beſides the Provinces of *Poitou*, *Normandy*, *Dauphine* and *Languedock* are in Arms againſt me: Great ſeditions ſhine, and Hereſies are inſolently ſpred, and have generally infected the Kingdom of *France*, and (perhaps) I may be forced to the endeavours of a new Conqueſt, before I may hope for a quiet and peaceable poſſeſſion of the Kingdom; and that (uſually) I ſhould be forced to make my entrance into the moſt Famous Towns of *France*, rather by the breaches which the Cannons might make, than by the Gates of the Towns loyally lying open: and ſo to march triumphantly, attended with ſuch joyful acclamations as uſually accompany Princes in their freſh addreſſes and entrances to their Crowns. Imagine you what a ſtrange and unwelcom alteration that would be, to quit a Kingdom wherein all the Subjects are in repoſe, and humble and affectionate towards their Prince, and to march into another, where the fields are overſtrewed with dead Corpſes, where the greateſt part of the people deſerve rather the ſevereſt punition than pardon, or the grace of Clemency, as having offended (and that irrepentantly) the juſt authority of all divine and humane rights. Might I not better conſtitute the *Queen* my Mother Regent of *France*, and appoint my Lieutenant General for the Conduct of my Martial Affairs? For I muſt confeſs, though I am obliged to *France* for my Birth and Life, yet I owe and hold my Scepter from *Polonie*: It is in the life and bloud of illuſtrious *Capet*, whereby I may claim the Crown of *France*; but it is the frank and voluntary bounty of my Subjects hearts, whereby I hold the Scepter of *Polonie*; and how ſhall I equally gratifie the rights and merits which both Crowns may challenge from me? If I go into *France*, with hopes to terminate that War, I may very probably raiſe a War in *Polonie*, where peace is ſo well eſtabliſhed; And may it be lawful to attempt an uncertain good with an aſſurance certainly to cauſe ſome dangerous evil? (In this weighty concernment) ought I not as well to reflect on my Subjects, as on my ſelf; and in both relations, look up to Heaven to be better guided? If I conſider the Love of my Subjects of *Polonie*, I muſt acknowledge they preſented me with that Crown: Yet I muſt not blaſpheme, *It is God alone that raiſeth and pulleth down from the Throne, and he maketh the elective as well as the hereditary Kings.* All Soveraignty and Crowns abſolutely depend on his pleaſure and authority. And it is a Law indiſpenſable, that *All Crowns owe their homage and duty to the King of Kings.* As for *the people who honour Kings with their acclamations, they do no more in the Ceremony of inauguration, than to proclaim their own obligations to Obedience:* But *it is God who giveth the Soveraignty of Kingdoms, who appoints his terreſtrial Vicegerents and Miniſters after his Celeſtial Pattern, to exerciſe Juſtice and Mercy.* It is he to whom alone Kings owe account, and it is an inſeparable Comitant to the Royal Office, to ſuccour the preſſing neceſſities of the ſubject impartially, without the diſtinction of perſons or qualities, or injury to the rules of Juſtice.

In theſe conſiderations, it is evident to all the world, that whether I hold the Crown of *Polonie*, or the Crown of *France*, the tenure is chiefly and ſolely from *God*. And as for the people of both Kingdoms, they ſwell with equal affections in my heart: And whether I continue in *Polony*, or advance towards *France*, I am to be as a common Father and Parent to the Countrey, and without reſpects of either repoſe in peace, or hazard in war, it is my duty to regard what is moſt juſt and equitable; and as to either Kingdom, what may be more commodious and more glorious. Let us ſee then (I beſeech you) whether it be more reaſonable to quit a Kingdom where my preſence is neceſſary, to prevent a War; or to go to another, where it may be very doubtful, whether my perſon may recover and eſtabliſh a peace. *It is not permitted to effect any evil, though with a good end, much leſs in attempt of ſo uncertain an aſſurance. Thoſe famous Acts which great and hardy ſpirits attempt, in uſurpations of Empires and Kingdoms, are no leſs criminous before God, than the more common horrid crimes are amongſt men.* And is it not as great an injury to rob a King from a Kingdom, as a Kingdom from a King? It hath arrived and fallen out ſometimes, that Souldiers have forſaken their Captains, and Captains their Generals, and Generals their Princes and Maſters, becauſe they have been either baſe or falſe: But for a generous and prudent Prince to have quitted his faithful Subjects, and to make a choice of others, of whoſe fidelity he hath had no experience, but rather danger, whether they would prove dutiful and loyal, is an accident, which (perhaps) hath never happened, unleſs in this example of my perſon. Notwithſtanding the tenderneſs and equity which cauſeth a Father to leave his Children who are not in danger, to make haſte and run to deliver thoſe that are in eminent peril, encourageth my reſolutions, in this conjuncture, and invites me to leave them, now being more proſperous and happy, and more able to ſuccour others who are very miſerable. When the Sea is calm, every ordinary Pilot doth preſume to work at the Helm, or guide the Ship: but when the Sea is rough, and the Waves wanton and furious; the moſt skilful Seaman obſerves the Compaſs, and ſteers the Courſe. It is he who chiefly grapples with the Tempeſt, when all the Company (with trembling eyes and Ears) attend his Counſels and his motions: It is he on whom they depend, to preſerve the Ship from Rocks, and protect the Veſſel from the fury of the Rowling Waves, and (at laſt) to bring them ſafely to the Port and Harbour. Do not you then ſo much admire, if you hear me prefer War before Peace, and rather expoſe my ſelf to Troubles, than to perpetuate that tranquility, which I do now enjoy. *Polony* is furniſhed with many Noble Perſonages, who can eaſily preſerve her in that good Eſtate, wherein the Kingdom is now eſtabliſhed: But fair *France* now is rich in nothing but Broils and Troubles, which are (at preſent) ſo highly inflamed, as probably not to be extinguiſhed without the approach of my perſon. *A Prince is a ſtar in himſelf ſo glorious, that it oftentimes obſcures by the beams of Majeſty (though ariſing afar off) thoſe leſſer and feeble Lights, which (in his abſence) ſhine bright in the Peoples eyes, and grow conſpicuous before ſome eminent deluded Grandees: But when that petty ſplendour vaniſheth, their Credit and Reputation (which hath ſhone in the Night of Tumults and Diviſions) diminiſheth*

alſo

alſo. And then Revolts and Seditions commonly ſhaddow themſelves under the Umbrage of more juſt protection, and (recovered out of the clouds of Treaſon) ſubmit to the brightneſs of true Majeſty, confiding there to finde the Rayes of Clemencie. You ſee then my reſolutions are not unreaſonable, and that a Prince in equity is not onely obliged to live where he can have moſt honour, eaſe, and plenty, but where he may ſtill increaſe his renown, and more gloriouſly exerciſe his royal dignity. And whereas it may be objected, that *Polony* may fall into the miſeries of War, and ſo conſequently ſome evils attend that Kingdom, by reaſon of my motions, and advance towards *France*; I anſwer, *the General of an Army, who hath given and gained a Battel, is not reſponſible* (by Martial diſcipline) *for the loſs of three or four thouſand men ſlain in that re-encounter*; and the Cryes of the Widows and Orphans (on this occaſion) cannot hinder the Trophies and Triumphs of Victory and Joy, nor extinguiſh the Bonefires of Exultation. Where (on the contrary) a private Captain having raſhly, or imprudently expoſed his Company to great danger, and to no purpoſe, and without order) hath ſometimes been ſentenced not onely to loſe his place, but alſo his life. Thus 'tis true, the leaſt circumſtance of diſhonour and imprudence changeth the face of things. Now in Politick affairs it is ſufficient if the deſign be reaſonable, though the effects ſucceed not; the chief Commander, though failing in the enterpriſe, is free from blame: *Good Counſels, and good Intentions (though honeſt) are not always fortunate*; and we are not to judge of the actions of Princes by ſucceſſes and uſual events.

Notwithſtanding I ſhall further adde, that my removing to the Crown of *France* may contribute greater advantage and ſafety to the State of *Polony:* For think you not that the Neighbour Princes will continue their power with more moderation, or be in more fear, when they ſhall underſtand that he who was King of *Poland* ſhall become abſolute Maſter of the firſt, and greateſt Kingdom in Chriſtendom? And that he and his Allies may be therefore more formidable to all the Princes in the earth? *Alexander* the Great commanded Subjects (though remote and diſtanced) in the fartheſt parts. The Senators of *Rome*, who never budged out of that *Royal City*, made intire Provinces to tremble, which were no nearer the Capitol then *Cracovia* is to *Paris*. If that great Conquerour *Alexander* quitted the pleaſant ſituation of *Macedonia* for the great riches and glory of *Perſia*, we may conclude then that *Dangers are companions of honour, and agree with illuſtrious minds.* On this account I may be permitted to leave *Polony*, to go and raign in *France*. But you will tell me, the *Macedonians* murmured when *Alexander* reſolved to leave them, and advanced toward *Perſia*. I anſwer, *Alexander* aimed at the glory of that Empire, who was a ſtranger and no *Perſian*; but I have a more natural right to the Crown of *France*, which is not onely an apparent, and caſual Intereſt, to ground my expectations and deſigns, in the Government of that Illuſtrious Kingdom. Wherefore the *Polanders* and *French* united in one Crown, are to be incorporated in the mutual relations of aid and aſſiſtance. I cannot but eſteem it a degree of Inhumanity to abandon thoſe, who preſented me with a Royal Crown; and therefore I have a conteſtation

teſtation in my ſoul, how to deport my ſelf in an equal diſpenſation of Soveraignty and favour to both Kingdomes *It is not valour alone that cauſeth Princes to be renowned, but bounty, ſweetneſs, gratitude, and moderation.* Virtues which make no great noiſe, but like deep ſtreams glide ſmoothly and gently, gain the Subjects hearts, make the Soveraign more glorious, his Government more acceptable, and his renown more immortal: And the Hiſtorians have not been leſs induſtrious in the deſcription of the paſſages of *Granica*, and the Battel of *Arbella*, then of the great Armies of the *Macedonian Conqueror* over the numberleſs Forces of *Darius*.

Theſe things being ſo, why may I not expect the reward of Honour? being ſo generous as not to reſolve abſolutely to quit thoſe who love me; and ſtill reſerve ſo much Equity and Juſtice due to them for their Election of me to be their King, that I may not force them to repent of their Royal Favour: And if I be ſo bounded in my moderation as rather to make choice of hardſhip and trouble with hopes of doing better ſervice, then of dalliance (in the abundance of delicious plenty) where the Princes and Nobles are as fortunate and happy as they can wiſh themſelves; On this ground I make my reſolution to advance towards thoſe parts, where true glory leads and conducts me, and every ſtep of my march (even from the firſt motion) ſhall be with deſign of equal honour to *Polony* and *France*; towards which we ſhall not make more haſte to ſearch out the delicacies and pleaſures of that Kingdom, but propoſing a Method and courſe of Moderation, reſolve to expoſe our ſelf to the fury of a Civil War, with hopes to recover an eſtabliſht Peace in that diſtempered and divided State. He who is reſolute to leave repoſe to find out trouble, the deſign of his actions being juſt, he muſt needs be attended, with honour and glory, and in theſe occaſions acting for the preſervation of Religion, and reſtauration of defaced Altars, fighting with ardour and zeal, cannot but be famous; if he deſtroy that great Monſter, which (at preſent) threatens the ruine and deſolation of *France*.

It is not then mine own will that induceth me to leave my Subjects, but a ſupernal, and heavenly intereſt that chiefly ſnatcheth me from them: And *Moral Generoſity is obliged to give place, and yield to Divine Policie*: And ſince (to ſpeak rationally) my Birth hath made me a King, as to this latter reſpect, I cannot with Juſtice and Honour quit the Priviledges of my Birth-right, and being advanced to ſo glorious a Crown, I am not only obliged to Reign, but to rule with Juſtice, and ſo to ſupport that great luſtre, and glory which is derived on me from my Predeceſſors. As for the quality of Elected Kings, the Succeſſors are not obliged to preſerve the honour of thoſe who ruled before them; but Princes who come to their Crowns by Inheritance, have Kings their Fathers, as well as their Predeceſſors; and being naturally deſcended from them, they are not onely to endeavour to be glorious, but likewiſe engaged to ſupport the ſplendour and renown of their Anceſtors. And the Scepter of *France* hath been born up by ſo many famous Princes, that as it were ignominious in me to refuſe ſo glorious a Birth-right, ſo it were ignoble not to endeavour by a ſignal emulation, to imitate (if not exceed) the chiefeſt Virtues of thoſe Illuſtrious Princes; which

which if I ſhould not undertake, my neglect would prove an inglorious declaration to all the world, that I tacitely renounced a Royal right and Scepter, and was unworthy or unable to wear ſo ſplendent a Crown and Diadem, and had not in me the Valour and Virtues of my Anceſtors: I muſt part, part (I ſay, my dear Friends) though with great grief and reluctancy, from thoſe who have received us with ſo great joy, and whoſe hearts are overwhelmed with ſorrow, at our preparations to leave them. O Heavens! what an unparallel'd conjuncture am I faln into? I ſpeak of my departure from *Poland*, but do not well know how to find out the way and means, being ſo environ'd with the affections of ſo many thouſands; from whoſe vigilant Love I can ſcarce withdraw my ſelf. My conſultations are only with my ſelf and you, my Friends; and I am well aſſured that he who had ſo univerſal a conſent, and general acclamations, when he was Crowned, ſhall not have one Vote or Voice to quit his Crown; if he ſhall refer his reſolution to the publick deliberation of the people. I can eaſily (if I will) ſtir up all the Kingdom of *Polony* into Arms, and ingage them not to permit my departure. So that I can ſay, I am free, and yet a Priſoner; and that which ſeems more cruel, I cannot complain of my Guards, which have ſo great paſſion to obey my commands, that (on the contrary) I am obliged to love them. And now (after all this conflict and debate) I muſt reſolve to leave them and that for ever: And yet (which is more cruel) without giving them notice, or ſo much as ſaying, adieu my Subjects, my Friends. Who ever read of an Accident ſo ſtrangely tempered as this of mine is? I am grateful and thankful in my ſoul to the *Polanders* for their favours, and yet I muſt appear to them and all the world uncivil and monſtrous.

Fortune, in this occaſion, ſeems to overthrow and beat down all her former favours, and hath rather impoveriſhed, than enriched me. I could rather wiſh that ſhe had never preſented me with the Crown of *Polony*, than ſo to have ſnatcht and raviſht me from thence. But (after all this) I know that *Kings neither live nor reign for themſelves*; there is a fatal Law and Decree, which guideth them as well as inferiour private perſons; and they are as well bound up to the Rules of Obedience, as Subjects to their Princes Wills and Pleaſures. Policy doth often oppoſe Religion, but the latter ought to be the chiefeſt Counſellor of a King. Juſtice and Clemency require things which ſeem intirely different; the love of peace, and ambition of true renown familiarly oppoſe one another; to be a King, and in that Royal Quality more illuſtrious, is certainly to be ſomething above an ordinary perſon. Be not you then ſtartled at the diverſity of my Reaſons, or difficulty of my reſolutions in this Point. *The paths which lead Princes to Supremacy, are not ſo directly beaten, as that they may not erre and deviate from the right way*; then principally, when the affairs are ſublime, important, and extraordinary.

Examples in Antiquity demonſtrate the truth in this caſe; for to be a King by election, and to be a King by birth; to be beloved of the firſt Subjects, and miſapprehended and prejudicated (for the moſt part) by others; to leave thoſe who are experimentally faithful, and to addreſs to others who are tumultuous, inſolent and uncivil; to abandon the delights of Peace, and to make choice of the affairs of War; not to be able to quit the faithful without grief, nor to relieve and ſuc-

cour others without certain infamy and danger: To conclude, to be conſtrained to flie from a Kingdom, for fear of being forced to reign Soveraignly: theſe are ſuch different varieties of concernments, as humane prudence rarely or never conſulted with before; and in which, the deepeſt policy will prove too ſhallow to ſound the bottom, & make a reſolution what to chuſe or leave. But in the extremity and ſtreight, my own reaſon, and thoughts of true honour, muſt be our guides, what courſe to ſteer, and no other Pilots (how skilful ſoever) can be uſeful to me in this nick of ſo great importances. I doubt not but that my return into *France* may endanger to change and alienate the affection of my Subjects in *Poland* (perhaps) into the quality of as great hatred as it was of kindneſs. For *it is the courſe and effect of love once irritated, to turn into fury.* But if this misfortune ſhould attend me, I ſhall (at laſt) gain this advantage, that poſterity may better judge of the ſweetneſs & temper of my Domination and Reign by their reſentment; and, that election and choice that they made of me, wherein they might (poſſibly) have been abuſed. But my heart hath been utterly uncapable of unworthineſs or unthankfulneſs to loyal and faithful Subjects. See (noble friends) the reaſons of my reſolutions in the election of an object ſo extreamly rare, which have perſwaded me to withdraw from the *Poliſh Court*, and to addreſs towards *France.* I have nothing more to add, but only that I am a Prince, whom a Crown which Nature hath prepared for me, cannot ſo abſolutely comfort and encourage, as the loſs of another, which Fortune and my merits preſented to me, doth afflict and trouble me.

HENRY

The Cenſure.

THE *fancy and device of* Henry *the third, was two Crowns in an Eſcutcheon, repreſenting that of* France, *and that of* Polony: *And this was the Soul and life of the Motto:* The laſt I look for in Heaven. *But he that invented this device, did not think to have made ſo ſudden a change, nor ſo ſpeedily to have received the laſt, which his own invention and Motto ſeemed to foretell, and Propheſie. On theſe and ſuch like occaſions, we may cry out with* S. *Paul,* Oh, the depth of the riches of the wiſdom and knowledge of God, whoſe judgements are incomprehenſible, and his ways paſt finding out? Who is he that knoweth the thoughts of the Lord, and who hath been his Counſellor? *Who could have ſaid to* Henry de Valois, *when he acquitted his Crown of* Polony *to return into* France, *that in the aſcent to his new Throne, he ſhould find ſo ſudden a degree of deſcent to his Tomb: and that his entertainment of that Scepter, ſhould prove a ſpeedy means to the loſs of his life, by ſo violent and ſo unuſual a death; And even then, (when his deſigns and Ambitions lead him to have his head crowned with a glorious Diadem) he ſhould looſe the ſight and brightneſs of the Sun? The Prophet and foreteller of ſuch infallible truth; ſhould have had neither Faith nor Favour for his reward. 'Tis true, he removed from a Climate, where Ice, and Snow, and thick Foggs dwell eternally, and returned to another air, which is more temperate, and pleaſant, and the diverſity of ſeaſons equally regulated. Whence man may ſee how the* great Creator of the Univerſe hath made all things with weight, number, and meaſure. *In* Polony *this Prince encountred with extremity and ſharpneſs of cold: and here in* France *he became reproached by his own* Mother, *who formerly ſo doted and Idolized her Son: he acquitted the rough and ſavage* Polanders, *and returned to a Country, where he met with leſs civilities: he ſucceeded a King, who was not much loved, whoſe reign was violent in Civil Broils. This Prince ſaw (whilſt he was Duke of* Anjou) *how he was the Peoples Darling, and the Kingdoms delight. And therefore his reaſon might perſwade him to return, where (probably) thoſe Flames of affection could not (as yet) be extinguiſhed. So that his Management (upon this occaſion) ſeemeth to be moſt judicious, and his choice equitable, and both theſe were confirmed to him, by the teſtimonies of glory, and triumph, which did meet him, and attend him on the frontiers of* France, *and ſeemed to promiſe to him a proſperous Raign, accompanied with much felicity. But, (oh the vanity of all Earthly Contentations) this temperate Climate, and fair Kingdom, found no entertainment for her King, but outrages, and tempeſtuous broils:* The Queen *his Mother (who ſo paſſionately loved the Duke of* Anjou) *had no kindneſs for him when he was King of* France. *The People civilized at ſome ſeaſons, at his approach, became more barbarous then* Scythians: *they endeavoured to aſperſe his honour, and aſſaulted his life, and (at laſt) forced him from his Throne, to which he never made (after his misfortune) a re-aſcent: his Reign was almoſt as bloody as that of his Predeceſſors: before his death he diſcern'd himſelf the object of the Peoples ſcorn, and* odium, *whom formerly they had ſo hugged in their affections, and extolled with admiration: and after a grappling with many miſchievous re-encounters, he was unfortunately aſſaſſinated by an abominable Monſter, a Jacobin Frier.* Kings by this example may learn to humble themſelves before the Throne of the great King of Kings;

Kings; who elevateth them to their Royal dignities. That God which foundeth, eſtabliſheth, and preſerveth Empires, can ſhake their foundations, diſſipate their forces, and deſtroy their ſtrength at his pleaſure; and no earthly power is ſo firm & puiſſant, but he can as eaſily break it to ſhivers as a Potters Veſſel. A Royal Scepter is but a Reed in compariſon of that Iron Rod wherewith God chaſtizeth: And when Kings are thruſt out of Gods Providence, Graſhoppers, and Frogs, ſhall prove enemies too formidable for their reſiſtance: And there is nothing ſo feeble, amongſt all the creatures but ſhall be ſtrong enough (when God is diſpleaſed) to ruinate and deſtroy them. *Let not then great ones affie in their ſubtilty, nor truſt* in uncertain Riches, nor in the numbers of Forces and Armies. *Theſe are things ſo far from ſecuring Princes, that they do not onely fail them, but ſerve to pull down their authority. Theſe attendants are of a mortal, and mutable condition, and no ſecurity is to be ſought, or ſetled* but in God alone, who is unchangeable. *And to this purpoſe* the Morals of the Evangile are better for Princes then the profoundeſt rules of *Ariſtotle*, and the deepeſt Politicians; *and the dependency of a bleſſing from heaven tranſcendeth all Princely experience, or humane Counſel.* He who takes care for the Birds of the air, forgets not Princes; *but when they firſt offend & forget their Maker, their ruine is (probably) not far off. To conclude, this name of* Henry *the third of* France *tranſfers me to another of that name*, Henry *the eighth of* England, *who found himſelf much ſtreightened what to reſolve; for having elevated* Anne Bullen *to the Throne, and having repudiated* Katherine, *he found himſelf conſtrained to put her to death for her Falſhood, and Incontinency: he ſeemed to ſtruggle with many difficulties, which gave a check to his reſolutions, but over-ruled by theſe reaſons following, he cauſed the Lady to die, whom he profeſſed to have loved more dearly then his own Soul.*

Henry the 8 Was borne at Grenwich Entred his Raigne being 18 yeares of age the 22 of Aprill 1509. Was Crouned at Westminster the 24. of June following. He Raigned 37 yeares and 9 monthes died the 28. of June. buried at Winsor.

HENRY THE EIGHT,
TO
THOMAS CROMWELL
Lord High Chamberlain of
ENGLAND.

AS I was averſe from their Counſels, and yielded to my paſſion, when I reſolved to advance *Anne Bullen* to my Throne, ſo I ought no more to be attentive to their importunities who endeavoured to perſwade me not to ſacrifice to my revenge this Oblation which I cauſed to be crown'd. For it is expedient that this Victime expiate her crime and mine; it being certain that I have been no leſs culpable in too much loving and honouring her, than ſhe hath been falſe and unworthy towards me. The nature of her Crime is of ſuch deformity, that it is not capable of the beams of Clemency. I am well aſſured that *Auguſtus Cæſar*, who made this virtue to appear ſo illuſtrious towards the latter end of his Reign, repented of nothing more, but that he had elected the puniſhment of Exile for the correction of the evil inclination of his Daughter *Julia*, and had not been more ſevere to ſo notorious a crime: which is moſt odious in any of that Sex, but more intolerable and impardonable in a *Queen* than in any others. If I were permitted to give that ſin a name, I ſhonld be much troubled how to deſcribe it, it is ſo black and foul. Had *Anne* no other umbrage to have ſhadowed her, and prevented her from that ſhameleſs choice, modeſty (the common protection of that Sex) might have guarded her Chaſtity; and ſhe might have been perſwaded, that purity, and a ſpotleſs converſation would have proved the greateſt ornament and beauty to her; without which, beauty it ſelf becomes but an object of ſcorn and averſion, a looſe and impudent garb provoking rather an *odium* and deteſtation, than love and admiration: And as Ladies have nothing elſe to obſerve and attend more than Virtue and Modeſty, and what may beſt and moſt grace their Converſation; ſeeing their thoughts are not cumbred with the Conduct of Armies, the charge of the Magiſtracy, nor the hard ſtudy of Learning and Policy: their whole duty ought to be entirely employed in a modeſt and virtuous comportment. It is that which renders them moſt amiable and lovely, and continues daily a Creation of new Charms to honour and adore their Beauty.

But besides this general reason, there are many others, which justifie her actions to have been most detestable: She was not only of that sex, to whom Chastity & Modesty is a virtue necessary and essential, but above these degrees; she was a *Queen*, wife to a famous *King*; a Prince, who passionately loved her, and so honoured her as to put a Crown upon her head; towards which, had not her Princes favour invited her, she durst not have presumed to have lifted up her eyes. *A Throne is a place of Majesty, so highly elevated, that as on the Sun, it is not to be look't on by a Subject, but with stupor and admiration; and a Crime approaching towards it, is not to be endured.* That place is sacred, and not to be prophaned; so base, so foul an attempt to come near so illustrious a presence, cannot, ought not to be excused. Kings in their greatest weakness may not digest so foul an injury: There are alwaies some pretences at hand to shadow and cover faults and errors. If Princes be debonair, they are flattered as peaceful and gentle; if weak, as kind and indulgent; if cruel, they are accounted more severe and jealous of their Authority; if they have the Art to rule and reign, they are esteemed subtil, to have much of the Fox, and to be prudent. Thus Kings in their Authority are attended with apologies, and their Power brings to them fair glosses for all their actions; but if a Queen lose her honour and reputation, there is no cure for such a wound, there is nothing to be said more, but that she deserves to be removed from the Throne, and cast into her Tomb; where her crimes and infamy may be buried with her; which were the more notorious in her, because she was advanced from so low a quality, to be so great a Princess: And having stained her honour, nothing can be able to expiate her offence, but the streams of her own bloud. The love of her Prince was not passionate to an ordinary degree, but to a kind of Idolatry; and consequently, her modesty should have respected the Majesty of the Throne. And if the quality of her Husband had not been sufficient to have obliged her to virtue & fidelity, the abundance of his ardent affection might have charmed her to mutual tenderness: And if this passion could not prove predominant in her soul, the relations of her husband, her servant, and her King, who had courted her with a Crown, might have enveloped entirely, and swallowed up her ambition. And should not all these engagements have merited her acknowledgments, and preserved her from defiling the Royal Bed, and so to dishonour her self and disoblige her Prince? No, all these obligations were too feeble for this inconstant and immodest wretch. This woman advanced to be a Queen, though the Soveraign Mistress of my Soul, whom I crowned gloriously with mine own hands, became an Infidel to my favours & her own faith; & fell so low, that she lodged within the Cabinet of her heart those unworthy persons, who deserve not to be named, but as to make up an aggravation in their mutual offences. She (I say) who knew well with what contestations I wrestled to obtain her Coronation, and saw to what dangers and scorn I exposed my self for the love of her: neither considered the Laws of God nor man, slighted the peace and prosperity of my Kingdom, regarded not the repose of my People, but stained her own honour, and my content & glory. Although I repudiated Q. *Katherine*, who was a virtuous & immaculate Lady, & caused her death by this second marriage, whereby I drew upon me the rage & envy of the *Emperor*, irritated the *Pope*, & seemed to scorn the alliance with the Crown of *France*, proposed to me by the Cardinal of *York*, my Creature & Favorite, whom I disobliged & provoked

to

to desert my service; by whose Ministry and conduct I so mightily prospered: Though the exigency of Affairs transported my passion, and obscured my reason, so that I became a disturber of Religion, Sacrilegious, violent and cruel to my Subjects, and grew so resolved as to serve mine own Lusts and Inclinations, causing a violent change; wherewith transported, I cruelly put to death one of the chiefest of all my Subjects, the L. Chancellor Sir *Thomas More*; and to prostrate all things in my Kingdom to the pleasure of my self and Mistress; and therefore renouncing Justice and paternal tenderness, preferred *Elizab.* daughter of *Anne Bullen*, before *Mary* the daughter of Queen *Katherine*; and so carrying on my designs in a Tempest of Passion, I removed all things out of the way that might seem to resist and oppose my expectations; I punished some with exile, others with imprisonment, and some with death: Yet after all these circumstances and pledges of my love, this base and ingrate person razed me out of her affection, forgot the debt she owed me, and which she ought to have paid to her own honour, and violently forced me (which neither honor nor reason could resist) to cause that head to be cut off wch I had formerly crowned. But (O heavens) can K. *Hen.* possibly consent, that she, whom he conducted to the Throne, should ascend a Scaffold to lose her head? And that she who kept my heart soveraignly in her power, should submit and lay down the greatest Beauty in my Kingdom to be struck off by the hand of an Executioner? Oh no, these my thoughts are terrible, the way forlorn, though the crimes are odious, the person is lovely whom I once so honoured; and cannot be sentenced to die, but with much regret. It will be a sad spectacle to see her bathed in her own bloud whom I have so tenderly embraced; will it not be sufficient to imprison her person, who hath so wantonly abused her liberty? May not her life in a Prison afflict her, & better teach her the difference which she enjoy'd in the liberty and honour of a Throne? Will not her remorse for her faults be to her as bitter as death, and prove a correction severe enough? 'Tis true, this use may be made of her alteration: But shall I let slip or suffer to die my former Princely resolutions? No, I know too well that *offended honour grows implacable*; her satisfactions are impossible; she must perish, my injuries must have revenge; and her death must repair my better repose, when she shall cease to be alive. Time will raze her Image out of my memory, and then I shall be more free from the passions of Love and fear. Besides, the resolutions which I take, are not only the effects of Revenge, but rules and reasons of Policy: For *there are a sort of enemies, who either ought not to be accused, or if they be, they are not to be pardoned:* And *prudent Princes are obliged to consider, whether those whom they pardon can be ever able to hurt and offend them.* Policy teacheth them to depend more securely on their own power, than on a penitent offenders promise. And may I, in this case, regard the desires of *Anne Bullen*, and so dissimulate her crime, and let her pass unpunished? or having accused and imprisoned this offender, were it not greater policy to destroy her? When I so much doted and adored her, she might have found opportunity to have been malicious or desperate, to have used Poniard or Poison to my person: Perhaps she may make an escape out of Prison, and (with her partizans) levie Arms against me in some part of my Kingdom. But you will tell me that *Anne* is committed to an inaccessible Tower, where the Guards are as faithful and courageous, as vigilant; that she is rather hated than loved of my Subjects, who never had the least approbation, but rather

ther *odium* and ſcorn for her Marriage; and therefore (probably) ſhe may be leſs dangerous and offenſive. Yet the Tower where ſhe is committed, though ſtrong, may be too weak to keep her: As for the Guards, they may be ſuborned and corrupted. The Artifice and Inchantments of a woman, and ſhe a Queen, and miſerable and unfortunate, are temptations too apt to provoke her to all malicious inventions, & hardly to be reſiſted in her ſex (too inclinable to miſchief and revenge:) Beſides, Compaſſion operateth on the moſt obdurate hearts; and *Female tears, like ſoft drops (conſtantly diſtilling) will in time work into tempers as hard as ſtones.* And (I believe) it is far more eaſie to guard ſecurely the wildeſt Tygers & moſt ſavage Lions, than a fair and beautiful Lady: Theſe fierce creatures are ſafe if their Cages and Dens be ſtrongly traverſed with iron Bars, ſtrong doors and locks: But *a Beauty, the more ſhe is loaded with chains, the more ſhe moveth her Keepers and Guards to compaſſion:* Her tears (in her affliction) her groans and ſighs will prove no leſs poſſible to corrupt & inchant her Jailors, than the greateſt rewards and recompences: and therefore her hopes will be freſh every day to gain her enlargment, if not from my clemency, yet from her corruptible and compaſſionate Guards. Beſides, ſince her advance to the Throne, ſhe hath had golden opportunities to heap up vaſt ſums of treaſure; which (perhaps) ſhe hath ſecretly prepared to ſupply her misfortunes, in caſe they ſhould aſſault her. And 'tis true, Keys made of Gold do often open iron gates, & it is to be ſuſpected that beams of beauty attended with ſad complaints of injury, ſighs and tears, promiſes and preſents, may open ſtrong doors, intoxicate vigilant ſouldiers; and by female craft and ſubtil devices, *Anne* may procure her liberty, and ſo gain more opportunity to endeavour miſchief, and raiſe future troubles. I know well that my people love her not, and if ſhe could eſcape her priſon, ſhe could not but with much difficulty find any ſuccour or Azile, yet my jealouſie and reaſon tells me, that if the people have no kindneſs for her, the Grandees of my Kingdom would be glad to countenance and engage in a Faction with her. And I do not think it poſſible that if this perfidious & ingrate ſoul ſhould addreſs to any part of my kingdom, but that ſhe might endanger the moſt faithful of my Subjects either to compaſſion or compartnerſhip in ſome new & diſloyal deſign againſt me: my reign hath not been ſo free & calm from troubles, but that a little breath of potent malice and diſcontent might quickly ſtir up the waves and billows of violent commotions. And if this fair Beauty ſhould proſtrate her ſelf to the moſt loyal Governour within any Forts of my Kingdom; when he ſhould ſee a Queen at his feet, with tears in her eyes, blubbering Beauty it ſelf, and a heart ready to break with diſcontent; breathing out nothing but ſighs & groans, he could not poſſibly but be apt to believe, and then tenderly to relieve a diſtreſſed Lady; the ſame force and ſweetneſs inchanting his heart, which bewitched mine. From this tenderneſs, kindneſs and reſpect would ſpring; and from that, ardent deſires to ſerve her: and then Hope and Ambition, the two wings that ſupport new aſpirings, might transform loyalty to obſervation of *Anne*: and this error (not reſiſted, nor weighed in the ballance of reaſon) may change a loyal Subject of *Henry* the 8th, into a Vaſſal and Slave of *Anne Bullen.* The confuſions and ruins of Kingdoms arrive not alwaies through the ambition of Neighbour Princes, or through the hatred or diviſion of the people; *Fond love and violent paſſions have their ſhare often in great diſorders*; & they who extinguiſh not the ſparks of theſe fires (if the flames

flames grow high) are apt to put Kingdoms into as great combuſtion, as the moſt formidable Invaſions. We reſolve then to take a courſe with this enemy; and diſarming her, render her incapable to offend us. The ſuborning of my Guards, and ſeducing my Subjects, is not the only diſſervice that ſhe may prove capable to effect; for who knows (if I ſuffer her to live) but that in proceſs of time, I may grow ſo feeble, as to dote on that Beauty which I ſo much admired, and be inamoured her; and admitting her diſcourſe, be charmed with her Syrenian voice? And yielding a delightfulneſs to her company, be ſo tranſported with affection, as to forget all her Injuries and Treaſon, which never appeared in her countenance nor deceitful looks. She is ſtill fair and lovely; and though ſhe hath loſt her proſperity, hath guarded her beauty; and my heart hath been ſo long ſubject to her Laws, that ſhe may have a poſſibility to be as great a Tyrant over me as ever, and then (in that condition) what revenge might not her malice execute? Judge then (my Lord) how great would be my ſhame, and how odious my infamy, what my people would ſay, and how bitterly murmur, certainly excuſing her as innocent, and condemning my ſelf as moſt tyrannical and unjuſt, if I ſhould admit of ſuch a viciſſitude, and ſuffer *Anne* to be admitted to my company, and to return to the Throne. No (my Lord) we reſolve not to expoſe royal Majeſty to any ſuch unworthy hazard & adventure. That which I permitted and approved in my firſt grace and favour, is an example warranted by many illuſtrious Princes, and not excepted againſt by the moſt ſcrupulous and moſt virtuous Moraliſts. The Emperor *Theodoſius* courted *Athenais* to his royal Throne, who was the daughter of an humble and grave Philoſopher: This was not the firſt time when beauty was crowned by the hands of Love and Fortune; yet the ſame *Theodoſius*, upon a meer ſuſpition and ſlight conjecture, made no difficulty to put *Paulina* his wife to death, whom he had loved ſo paſſionately, and to exile the Empreſs notwithſtanding the appearance of her innocency: It is ſo true that Purity and Chaſtity are ſo abſolutely neceſſary in Princes. If *Theodoſius* then thus proceeded with his *Athenais*, What? may not I juſtifie my ſevereſt diſpleaſure againſt *Anne Bullen*, being one whoſe crime is notorious; and thoſe who were her Partizans, now impriſoned, equally guilty? whoſe crimes were as friendleſs as foul, and could not find an interceſſor for clemency; much leſs Orators and Advocates to plead for their Juſtification. Let us not forget then (in this re-encounter) how there ought to be no tenderneſs for odious offenders; and that the glory of a State ought to be the principal aim and end of Royal actions. If this injurious and unworthy Qu. had made a Faction, and publickly raiſed a party againſt me in my Kingdom, or had attempted my perſon openly, her crime might have been more pardonable. I might have lookt upon her as a perſon of greater ſpirit, and therefore leſs capable to brook the conceit of an injury; and poſſibly her reconciliation might have been more ſafe and glorious. *All Subjects who make revolts (either ſeduced or being fomenters) are not always exterminated.* Thoſe who adventure in conſpiracies and (in their black deſigns) aim at taking away the life of the Prince, do not always perish; there are reaſons why (in ſome conjunctures) crimes are wink'd at, and diſſimulated, and ſometimes pardoned as well as puniſhed. But as for the uglineſs of this offence, it hath not only injur'd the Prince, but prophan'd his Throne, diſhonour'd Royalty, violated Divine and Humane Laws, and by her *Inceſt* and *Adultery*, ſhe hath ſo corrupted the Fountain that

the ſtreams will glide with nothing but ſhame and ſin from age to age, to the laſt poſterity. This is an evil which cannot be tolerated, an Ulcer ſo incurable, that nothing but her life and bloud (which cauſed it) can ſatisfie: all other remedies are unſerviceable, and not to be adminiſtred. In this occurrence it is equitable that I be Judge and Accuſer in the ſame thing: and 'tis as abſolutely neceſſary that I abandon pity, and forget all former affection, and cloſe mine eyes from the rayes of that Beauty, and my ears from that harmonious voice which ſo mightily had inchanted me. It is for this reaſon that I reſolve not to look on that lovely object, whoſe crimes had ſo ſoiled her former purity, that I ſhall raze her memory out of my heart: & (at leaſt) by that means cauſe, that poſterity ſhall not continue my ſhame and her offence. By all theſe reaſons we may eaſily judge that the life of this unthankful creature, could neither be for my content nor honour. Beſides theſe, there is a principal reſpect due to my people; which is not of an inconſiderate conſequence: their importunities are for a Succeſſor, a King: they fear (if I die) that they ſhall have a Qu. to reign over them; and (notwithſtanding their ardent deſires for a Pr. of *Wales*) I believe they are not paſſionate to have that Pr. the Son of *Anne Bullen*. This is another conſideration of ſuch importance, as I cannot but take care to remove this invincible obſtacle, intending ſo much the publick felicity of the people; ſo that it is impartially neceſſary that ſhe periſh to prepare a way to the peoples greater good, and the Kings greater glory. There is this advantage more in this deſign, that little or no trouble will ſurvive to revenge her death. As for thoſe who oppoſed her marriage, they will not rank themſelves in Arms to fight her quarrel, and ſeeing *Death is accuſtomed to diſarm Beauty*, that of *Anne Bullen* can do no more than a beam of the Sun when it is ready to ſet, ſhine a while, and be no more ſeen. In ſuch a a dreſs ſhe and her Beauty will go together to the Grave, and there be buried in oblivion and duſt, But what ſhall I ſay? I cannot but be aſſured that her Memory and Image will be much in my Fancy and Preſence, though ſhe be abſent, and interred in obſcurity. May I not then fear leſt I ſhould repent the Sentence, and ſorrow for the Execution? The Policy of *Herod* was no leſs fortified than mine, and his heart no leſs tender; his fancy was wounded, which repreſented unto him his *Mariamne*, who was leſs criminal than her of whom I have ſo juſtly complained; notwithſtanding he repented of her death, he wept, he grieved, his Fancy was ever followed with her Image; he loſt all content and repoſe, and (at laſt) ſubmitted to wiſh that Death had faln on him which he executed upon her. I may then juſtly fear the expoſing of my ſelf to ſuch a continued torment of my Fancy and Imagination, and not raſhly pronounce that Sentence (which executed) is irrevocable. And yet there is a great difference and diſtinction betwixt the proceedings of this Politician and my ſelf; *Mariamne* was not only his Wife, but his Soveraign and Queen; and though he were her Love and Husband, yet he was yet Subject & a Tyrant, and (conſequently) he ought to have had more regard & remorſe, & not to have acted but with greater wiſdom, & more ſage precaution; but on the contrary) I am a King, her Love, and a husband enraged and abuſed, by one who was my Subject, & to whom I gave a Crown: finding then my ſpirit not capable to digeſt ſo great affronts, I will baniſh the ſuſpicions of fear; and being a King (though a huſband) I ſhall take heed that I fall not into ſuch a baſe and ignoble repentance. No, no, my ſoul is now free from the irregular paſſion of Love,

and

and will not admit thoſe falſe deluſions to trouble my Fancy: Her crime hath deſtroyed her innocency, & her offence will more probably appear before my memory, then her Beauty ſo foully ſtained. I ſhall look upon her (as I ought) without prejudice to Juſtice & Glory; & therefore conclude, that it is neceſſary ſhe die; yet if I ſhould deprive her of the Crown without the retrenchment of her head, & ſo render her into her firſt condition, it may be that Love which I had once for her, might plead for the continuance of her life; but as ſhe is a Crowned Queen, and Mother to my Daughter *Elizabeth*, I cannot ſafely depoſe her from the Throne, but I muſt force her to her Tomb; & when ſhe deſcends from the one, ſhe muſt not ſtop till ſhe fall into her Grave. I doubt not but poſterity will be divided in their judgment in the examination of this Action: ſome will ſay that *Henry* was cruel, others that he was ſtout and generous; but after the variety of Cenſures, it is certain that *Kings muſt act as Glory counſels them; which ought to be far above, and out of the reach of fear & ſcandal.* It appears then to all the world that it was not by a violent precipitation, which hatred might ſuggeſt that I have proceeded to this reſolution; Jealouſie did not ſo enrage me as to have recourſe to Poiſon, or a Poniard; ſo to have diſpatched this infamous Woman by mine own hand: no, if ſhe die, the Laws do judge her, & her own crime condemns her; and if I have contributed any thing to her fall, it is a progreſs without injuſtice or reproach; ſeeing that I was ſo paſſionate for her, as to chuſe her Miſtreſs of my Heart, there to ſerve her; & in that affection my heart commanded my hand to ſet a Crown upon her head. Theſe circumſtances (doubtleſs) do declare and manifeſt *Anne* more culpable to all the World. But my firſt and laſt actions were not grounded on the ſame intentions; I propoſed the Crown (which I beſtowed upon her) ſhould have made her glorious, not infamous; and ſhould have inſpired into her the apprehenſions of a Queen, and not have rendred her a perſon odious and abominable: but ſeeing I am deceived in my Conjectures, it is juſt that I be puniſhed for my error; which her beauty cauſed me to fall into. Clemency (on this occaſion) is a vertue too indulgent, and not to be uſed, unleſs Juſtice were to be extruded out of doors; and pity, in this caſe, were to diſarm & diſgrace Royal Authority. 'Tis true, *Severity is terrible, but Indulgence and an inclination to Clemency more dangerous:* when a Prince is injured, and great Eſtates may be deſtroyed by either, unſeaſonably practiſed, & (as we ſee) how the moſt gentle Rivers do very great miſchief when they overflow their bounds, as well as impetuous and violent Torrents: So (in like manner) exceſſive Clemency may be as offenſive as the ſevereſt Cruelty. As I am not then in this action juſtly to be accuſed of too much fondneſs, ſo, nor of too much fury: for if *Anne Bullen* had not changed, I had been the ſame as I was in my eſpouſals, and when I ſolemnized her Coronation with ſo much honour and joy; and if ſhe had not faln to be diſloyal, ſhe ſhould not have found her Grave ſo ſuddenly. Now as to the two Vertues, Juſtice and Clemency; the firſt moſt firmly ſupporteth the Kings Throne, & without it the Royal Authority is ſhaked to nothing in an inſtant, & ſhe is moſt eſſential to ſupport the Crown and Scepter: Clemency may be ſometimes called to the Councel, but the preſence of juſtice is more abſolutely neceſſary. In this Act then (my Lord) admire not if I proceed as the glory and renown of a King requires, as the Laws ordain; and with that reſolution which my paſſion and reaſon cannot be admitted to plead againſt. It muſt be ſo then, that this miſerable wretch

cannot

cannot be exempted from the punishment she hath merited; she must not longer have any harbor in my heart, there being no person or Argument to intercede for her defence; her most detestable Brother hath shamefully confest his horrid crime, his companions are become his Accusers, her own conscience convinceth her, my great favours aggravate her reproaches, the memory of her prosperity doth torment her, the fear of her punishment doth cause her to tremble, the representation of her fault (so shameless and unparallel'd) covers her with confusion: what remains then, but to bring her to Execution, where she may make (if possible) reparation to mine honour: where let the ungrateful wretch have an ignominious death, and die with such disadvantage, as to have no monument in my memory, but what she has with all the World, Scorn and Hatred: let her bloud deface those Characters of Love, which were so profoundly engraved in my soul, and (forgetting all her dalliances of Love and Beauty) let us sacrifice her and them to our Honour and Renown.

The Censure.

As for this particular Action towards Anne Bullen, *it meeteth with double Censures; as well of those who approve, as those who condemn and dislike the Action. As to the Parallel betwixt this Prince and* Herod, *and so betwixt* Mariamne *and* Anne Bullen, *it seems not so just and reasonable; for* Herod *was not as* Henry, *a King by birth, but by* Mariamnes *means and favours; and as for the two Queens,* Mariamne *was innocent and vertuous, but* Anne *criminous and guilty. And therefore this violent Prince was less unjust (though severe) because Majesty was so offended. The Royal Bed ought to be kept as sacred and inviolable as the Imperial Throne; and of the two, the first is to be attended with stricter and more vigilant Guards: as for the Scepter, it may be wrested & forced out of the Princes hand without dishonor; and it may be recovered again with advantage of greater renown: but the Royal Bed once stained, doth not only enrage the Prince, but the People; and that injury spreadeth to a poison, which can find no Antidote: and it staineth Majesty so deeply, as the Spot never to be washed out. Therefore the Romans concluded, that it was not only necessary for* Cæsars *Queen to be chast and innocent, but free from Calumny and all Censure, and above the reach of Scandal, which is an inseperable companion of Suspicion. And if* Julius Cæsar *repudiated his Queen on a bare jealousie, how intolerable is reproach & infamous scandal? much more odious then, is the crime of looseness and incontinency; The only Spot that stuck on* Augustus *his Successor (when he was mounted far out of the reach of the cruel decrees of the Triumvirate) was that he espoused* Livia, *being she was great with child, & after she was divorced from* Drusius Nero *her husband, from thence sprang that no smalliary among st the Romans,* That all those whom Fortune favours may have such successes as to have children within three months after marriage. Tiberius *his adopted son and Successor to the Empire, was more sensible of his honour; who repudiated* Julia, Augustus *daughter, banished her from Rome; and having branded her name with the mark of eternal infamy, condemned her to die an exile, and there to bury her crime and shame. This Grand Politician well understood that all* injuries to Princes are intolerable, *but crimes of such infamy*

and

& diſhonour, are to be puniſhed with the moſt ſeaſonable and ſevereſt revenge: and that the leaſt favour or mitigation to offences of this nature, are as impardonable as odious and dangerous. There is nothing ſo much obſcureth the Sun, as when it is eclipſed by the Moon; and the diſgrace is as great as the diſcontent, when a Queen is falſe to her Lord and Soveraign. Beſides, the dangers are imminent, and conſequences very fatal. The extravagant marriage of Caligula *manifeſteth this to all the world; who having eſpouſed* Ceſonia, *his Court was ſpeedily corrupted with great diſorders, which introduced and brought in ſhameful conſequences in the Government of the Empire, but if impudency ever ſwelled to an exceſs and outcry, and that vice met with equal ſtupid patience to tolerate it, if not to give it countenance; it was when that immodeſt and vicious* Meſſalina *was the eſpouſe and wife of dull and ignoble* Claudius; *during whoſe reign, her deportment was as laſcivious & vile, as he was unworthy and altogether baſe. And Hiſtory only takes notice of them as horrid diſgraces to the times they lived in. And this was not all,* Meſſalina *dared to quit* Claudius, *and married another; which high affront the Emperor endured: but after a long and prodigious inſenſibility, he awaked at laſt, and put* Meſſalina *to death, and ſo terminated her life and her diſhonour. If* Marcus Aurelius *the* Philoſopher *were more uxorious and kind to his wife* Fauſtina *(though ſhe was a moſt irregular and extravagant woman) it is to be thought that his Philoſophy was too much Stoical; and ſuch dull ſtupidity became not an Emperour, who had the domination of the world. We may then conclude, that* Henry *the Eighth did not act againſt the Maxims of Policy, Juſtice or Reaſon in puniſhing this infamous offender, and if he gave occaſion to the world to blame him for his ſix marriages, and by reaſon of his outrages towards Churchmen, and great troubles in the change of Religion; yet in this lawful revenge, as well as in many other Acts of famous memory) he merits the teſtimony of honour and renown; and ſeeing that for his Book againſt* Luther, *the Pope honoured him with the Glorious Title of* Defenſor Fidei; *it is an argument that the Actions of great* Kings, *are not to be cenſured with raſhneſs and precipitation: for* they are as ſome eminent Stars which move in ſuch a Sphere, as all the world do not perceive; and as their condition is ſeparated and tranſcendent to others, ſo theſe viſible Earthly Gods have their reaſons and reſolutions apart. *Such another was that famous Prince* Pepin K. *of* France, *who hath been cenſured and condemned, and his means and waies reputed as unjuſt, and utterly unlawful to the Throne, and his reign an uſurpation; but if we will liſten to the reaſons which he ſpake for his defence, and as an Apology for the great change of affairs; we may (perhaps) alter our judgments, and not prejudicate Princely actions. Let us then leave the Diſcourſe of* Henry *the Eighth of* England, *and hear what* Pepin *pleadeth for his Juſtification, who took the Crown of* France *from off the head of the laſt of the Race of* Clovis *the Grand, and placed that Royal Diadem on his own head.*

King PEPIN TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF MAIENCE.

THE Acclamations of the People were ſo general and loud; then, when you anointed me, and gave me the Crown as a Preſent from the *States* and *Grandees* of the Kingdom, that thoſe Ecchoes of joy and exultation reſounded throughout all *Europe*, and all parts of the Earth are well ſatisfied that *Childrick* (being not longer able to ſupport the Royal Scepter) I was impetuouſly conſtrained to take it into my hands, and forced with a kind of violence, to endeavour the preſervation of that Glorious and Royal Throne; and not to ſuffer it to fall with ſhame and infamy. And yet (perhaps) many thouſands are not ſatisfied with thoſe Motives and Reaſons which preſſed me to thoſe high reſolutions, and it is a Debate judiciouſly to be examined, Whether I was rather to accept or refuſe the Supream and Soveraign power of this Kingdom; the action not meerly reflecting upon my ſelf, but likewiſe with the effects of much good or evil on the people; and ſo conſequently, with glory or diſhonour redundant to my ſelf in thoſe mighty undertakings. In this conjuncture, a Prince ought to be furniſhed with all advantages of prudence as well as of valour and reſolution. Thoſe who only judge of content by the external appearance of glittering objects, ambitiouſly & raſhly reach at any thing that appeareth glorious; but *an Imperial Diadem is not to be accepted, but by ſuch great Heroes whoſe virtues can more illuſtrate a glorious Crown.* We ſee that Infants and ignorant perſons cannot gather the bluſhing Roſes without danger of pricking their fingers with thoſe little thorns, which like natural guards, wait on thoſe ſcarlet flowers. As for me (whoſe Anceſtors have imployed their lives to ſupport the throne whereon I am ſeated) I am not ignorant how that all their endeavors were intirely devoted for the preſervation of the ſelf ſame Crown. And I cannot but confeſs, that I am obliged to be as diligent & active, & ſo moſt ſtrictly to examine my abilities in managing the high affairs of a Kingdom,

Titulum ne horresce novantis,
Non rapit Imperium vis tua, sed recipit.
Ausonius de Severo.

Kingdom, in wch I shal not leave out any Circumstance that may render my self more capable, or the Throne more honorable. 'Tis true; I am not so fortunate as *Augustus*, who had the friendship and counsel of *Mecænas* and *Agrippa*, to advise in the danger of my weighty occasions: And yet I shall not fail to examine up, and search into every corner of my soul, to present my condition more fit for so Princely an Office; and ballance all reasons judiciously, which may either perswade me to, or remove my thoughts from the acceptance of the Royal Robe; & I shall severely scan all probable disputes, that my judgment and reason may gain the greater victory: and if I have received the Crown, I doubt not but I shall make it appear that my Vertues have merited much, as well as my birth; and it is not an Addition to be sleighted, that in receiving of the Diadem, I have had so long and so serious a contestation with mine own soul. You know well, the solemn days of Triumph are better Registred, then easily to slip out of memory; and you were then my Remembrancer, that I should declare my resentment and reasons, why I embraced the Crown; that the people as well as my self, might more clearly understand why I became their Soveraign, and they my Subjects. To satisfie this great curiosity (I confess) when I look upon the height of the Royal condition and quality of a King, I beheld it as those who have in their view a dangerous precipice; and I did not lightly and ambitiously so much aspire to more transcendent Eminencie; but likewise prudently consider the varieties of dangers of so high a place: and when I held the Scales of both Honour and danger in my hands, and poised them both together; I discerned so many troubles and cares, travels, hardships, wars, and so many secret discontents following Royalty at her heels, that through mine own contestations & debates, without farther disputes, I found it most rational to repulse the motion and proposition of the Supreme Dignity, and beheld it as an enemy to my private repose, and no friend (probably) to my future Glory. But in a second reflection (the first notions being corrected by the latter) when I considered that what was proposed, aimed at the conservation of a mighty Monarchy, I could not but admit my reason to farther consultation, resolving if any misfortune should arrive through my faults and errours, I should be onely responsible to the great Governour of all the Universe; who requires from none an account, but of those Talents that he bestows upon them, and in this trust I resolved not to fail. I began then more closely & attentively to pursue those great affairs; but in this Commencement, I considered with my self, as my Grandfather *Pepin*, and illustrious *Charles* my Father, consulted with themselves: The first would never be perswaded to entertain the thoughts of Soveraignty; & the second did refuse it with the title of King; and would not accept of it but to be stiled The French Prince: these times and symptoms seemed to presage an alteration; and yet there was no appearance that the Subjects were willing to change their Master. Besides, for many years the Throne was not enjoyed but by Princes of more incapable and weaker judgments to reign and govern: so that from the reign of *Dagobert* the first, whose justice, valour, and piety, were more considerable; the *Clovises*, the *Clotairs*, the *Childerickes*, the *Theodoricks*, and the *Childeberts*, and *Dagobert* himself the second, rendred the state into such pitiful conditions, that if the Major of the Pallace had not been found more capable to rule and govern, it had not been, but that the Kingdom had fain oftner then once into the hands of Foreigners, Strangers, or Enemies. Notwithstanding *Pepin* was contented

tented to ſerve his Maſter, and to obſcure and ſupport his infirmities. It may be there are ſome who would ſay, that this ſervice was for ſelf advantage, and to lay the foundations of his own Royal Family; but what could he do otherwiſe, but as a good and faithful Subject, cauſing Juſtice and Piety to flouriſh; and ſo to attribute the Renown to his Prince during his reign. But a continuation of this ſervice was impoſſible; neither would the People be ſatisfied, where the Prince was ſo dull, & ſuch errors and diſhonour in the Goverment. It was by my means that the Duke of *Fryze* (that Pagan) was vanquiſhed; and afterwards obliged to be baptized, and become *Chriſtian*: that the Biſhop of *Utrecht* was re-eſtabliſh'd, whom *Ebroin* had chaſed from his Epiſcopal Chair; and that the *Almains* (on both ſides the *Rheim*) who levied their Forces againſt the Crown of *France*, were ſubdued: & what endeavours were not uſed to keep the *Monarchy* from an utter deſolation; and to reſtore it to its Priſtine Splendor and Honor. And if *Pepin* (in all theſe actions) did not propoſe and fancy Royalty in the ſucceſs of ſo many atchievements; he were ingrate as well to his fortunes as to his vertues. *Charles Martel* was not ſo confined, who (what ever he did) conceived he merited, and expected honour both from Prince and People. And yet whilſt theſe affairs were in action the ways and means were facile and eaſie to him to have mounted the throne. And 'tis true that *incomparable Valour accompanied with Prudence, Juſtice, Generoſity, Clemency, Moderation, Piety, and good Succeſs, may boldly attempt any thing*: Notwithſtanding ſome may ſay, that he drove a nail into the Wheel of Fortune; and (maugre the Infirmity of *Dagobert*, *Chilprick*, and *Childerick*, (under whom he ſerved) or (to ſpeak more properly) under whom he reigned) he made then a ſcruple to entertain and take a Scepter out of their hands, from whom God himſelf had ſeemed to ſnatch it; having given them over to their vices and irregularities: which introduced all vileneſs into the Kingdom, and therefore threatned a fatal deſolation. I do ſolemnly profeſs the two examples of my Grandfather and my Father had almoſt prevailed with me, to make me reſolve to die, and lay my fortune at *Childricks* feet, though I ſaw the Throne in an apparent ruine; and if I had not been charmed from thoſe thoughts by the importunity and univerſal ſuffrages of the people, I had certainly periſhed, and been buried under the Ruines of that Throne. The injuries which I muſt act to my lawful Prince (though he were never ſo weak and therefore leſs reverenced by his Subjects) did torment my thoughts, and I could not but conjecture that the end might be as miſerable, as the way and means unjuſt and injurious; and if I attempted to aſcend the Throne by the Depoſing of my lawful Prince, I ſhould not be of better reputation with the people, then an Uſurper: and it is a vulgar concluſion, *He who is an Uſurper to his Maſter, cannot but be a Tyrant to his Subjects*. Beſides, the people will then cenſure that all the ſervices of *Pepin* my Grandfather, and *Charles* my Father, were nothing elſe but politique Arts and means to undermine the Crown; and ſo more eaſily to derive it on their poſterity. Theſe thoughts allayed the heat of my ambition, & retarded that violence which hurrieth moſt mens deſires in the obtaining of Soveraign power. Beſides, if I aſſume the Title of King, may not thoſe hands who lift me up, pull me lower then ever I was? may they not diſpute againſt my merits and qualities as not agreeing with Princely dignity? or may they not be outragious, and charge me with ignobleneſs & ingratitude, and murmur at all rewards, as not proportionable to their demerits & ſervice? if ſo many admirable

admirable qualities are neceſſary for a legitimate and lawful Prince, what abilities can render a Subject fit to reign? As for thoſe who were my equals in condition & merit, though they have carried me on their ſhoulders, and lifted me to the Crown, they cannot but ſpeedily repent, unleſs they therefore elevated me to ſo high a precipice, that my fall might be more certain, more ſudden, and more dangerous; and who have been born and lived with me under the ſame Prince and ſame Laws, (the Subjects common birthright) how can they ſubmit that I ſhould be their Supreme and head, who have been my ſuperiors or companions? may not ſuch an ambition ſtain the reputation of all my former ſervices with diſhonour and infidelity? and that inſtead of concealing or ſupporting the infirmities of *Childrick*, I intended nothing but a direct eſtabliſhment of Tyranny in *Pepin*. Beſides all this, will not theſe courſes give a ſpecial advantage to neighbour Princes for Invaſions, and raiſe immortal Factions with the Grandees of this Kingdom; and would not this way foment & cheriſh a forreign and a civil War? and did I not by theſe actions provoke the whole world to an *odium* of me, and to deviſe conjurations againſt my life, honour, and poſterity? I am not ignorant that many Sages (mentioned in Antiquity) have refuſed royal Crowns. And when I come to conſider my ſelf, if I receive the Scepter, I cannot but loſe the fidelity of my choiceſt friends, becauſe they are not now my equals, and of friends they muſt be rendred flatterers, and ſlaves to my Fortunes; and if I ſhall expoſe my ſelf to be ſeduced by their cunning Artifice, who inveagle and inviron Kings with their ſmooth arguments, and ſo be corrupted to admit injuries and injuſtice: I ſhall but prepare every one whom I ſhould command, to curſe me with their tongues, or ſtrike me with their hands. Moreover, ſeeing Princes are ſubject to all errors and misfortunes in Government, I may loſe my reputation, & be branded with the vices of cruelty & violence; or elſe be accuſed and thought guilty of raſhneſs, ignorance and imprudence. Theſe conſequences cannot but provoke great numbers of ſecret as well as publick enemies; and ('tis oft ſeen) that *diſcontents can unite all parties in the deſtruction of an object generally hated*. Theſe reaſons may deter my reſolutions from the acceptance of a Crown; which high degree is too apt, not only to raiſe many enemies, but to create their rage and envy to be implacable; and if Subjects interpret the greateſt bounty of their Prince but a debt, or (perhaps) a reward too little to ſatisfie their expectation: how inſatiable will the Subjects be in their demands from ſuch a Prince, whom they have advanced from their own condition? They commonly conclude that Kings are but the great Treaſurers of their Kindoms, and therefore are obliged to largeneſs & bounty; and 'tis uſual that a denial or a repulſe (in the leaſt or greateſt matter) provoketh bitter murmurings or publick outrages. Nay, they conclude that Kings are obliged (by divine right) to give all that they poſſeſs, & as the Ocean receiving her vaſt tributes from the In-land Rivers, returneth the waters by ſecret paſſages, which break up in boiling fountains and pearling ſprings; ſo they argue, Princes who receive the publick tributes of the people, are but truſted to preſerve them until they be to be refunded & more abundantly paid back again. In this ſimulitude it is obſervable, that although the Sea do give leave that ſome few fountains do break up, and ſo water ſome places of the earth, yet ſhe is unthankful as to the general; and leaveth many vaſt parts, for want of moiſture, to be altogether ſteril and barren: and thus Princes, though they may oblige ſome

friends and favourites with the dew and drops of their bounty; yet the many thousands of the people not reliſhing of their liberality, rather become their enemies than humble and obliged Subjects. In this argument what froward apprehenſions will poſſeſs the people, who are too reſolute to interpret aright of all things in themſelves; & that their Prince, as the ſea, is obliged to return the waters more clear & ſweet, wch his vaſt power hath imbittered and rendred leſs pleaſant and more unwholſom. And although I have alledged ſo many reaſons for my refuſal of a Crown; yet theſe which follow, appear more of force, farther to diſſwade any reſolutions; foras I am not a King, ſo neither am I the Son of one; which I conceive as the greateſt obſtacle in this deſign: I know that I have ſome drops of royal bloud ſtreaming in my veins; and (though far remote) can claim a relation of Kindred to *Clovis* the Grand: and though I may not be ſo near in bloud, yet I am not ſo remote from his virtues and merit as *Childrick*: which conſideration doth a little more ſuppreſs all ſcruple & niceneſs. But how can I dare to approve the acclamations of the people, in that which I fear and diſlike in my ſelf? my Ambition is too thin a cover to diſguiſe and veil the Truth it ſelf; and my inquietude (in this conteſtation) as it is reſtleſs in my breaſt, ſo it is unexpreſſible in my language; And on one ſide, I ſee a Throne ſtaggering and ready to fall; a feeble and vitious Prince, who through his vices and weaknes hath ſhaken the foundations of a Royal Kingdom: I ſee the people generally in commotions, and the more couragious already armed; and in their jealouſies and indignation I ſaw their eyes chiefly fixed and directed towards me, and all their motions point towards my ſelf as the Center of Royalty, and they were great with expectation for a Soveraign and King, worthy of their obedience & ſo glorious a diadem. In this conjuncture I cannot but obſerve the ſymptoms of a mighty change; and in thoſe apprehenſions, I muſt not be injurious to my own fortunes: And (on the other ſide) I feel equitable intentions towards the people in the motions of mine own ſoul, concurring with their deſires in my advance. And if in this great expectation I ſtill ſupported the Debilities of my Maſter, I was not certain whether the people would longer ſuffer me to ſerve under his name; wch conſideration (if not prevented) as it might prove a certain ruine to *Childrick* might (probably) hazard mine own perſon, & the Kingdoms peace. Seeing then the diſorders of his life, & his affairs were ſo irregular, & cauſed the Grandees to grow into Factions, and the Commons to murmure; and both reſolved to quit and change their Maſter. I cannot find, but for the Kingdoms happineſs (as well as for mine own renown) to uſe my utmoſt endeavours to govern ſo great a Kingdom; and ſo to preſerve it from deſolation. If we look upon the whole Univerſe, all Countries and Kingdoms make up but one great body, & every particular Member is oblig'd to aid and aſſiſt the whole. It is thus in any one royal Kingdom; all the Subjects are unanimouſly engaged to preſerve the common good: & the Members cannot but be in confuſion and ſick, if the Head be unſound; & if we conſider thoſe enormous vices of thoſe two Princes, to whom my Grandfather *Pepin* and *Charles* my Father did ſuch eminent ſervices; and what were the virtues of *Charles* and *Pepin*; it cannot but be confeſſed that our Family hath moſt highly merited, both from King and People; and though the Deſcent, and Right in bloud ought to be inviolable, and not to be interrupted, yet the vices and inability of Kings, may as well determine their reigns, as deſolate and diſſolve their Kingdoms: & *the King*

of

of Kings who firſt advanced Princes to reign, can, when he pleaſeth ſet a period to their ſucceſſors. And as to my ſelf, I am ſo well ſatisfied with the favour of fortune, that as Subjects ought not to aſpire to Crowns; ſo it agrees with my honour not to refuſe ſuch a Dignity. The vanity may be as well in him who Stoically ſcorneth the ſplendor of Glory, as in him who ambitiouſly gapeth after it. And Hiſtory telleth us, that thoſe who did not accept *Alexanders* Preſents, were as deeply accuſed of Pride, as (if they had received them) they might have been taxed with Avarice. Seeing then that I am premoniſhed by the previſion of an univerſal deſolation, that I am encouraged by the popular acclamations of the Subjects, that the people deſire it, and the Kingdom is in a neceſſity and exigency; I cannot but wreſtle with ſome conſiderable rights, & embrace the Soveraignty, which is ſo ſweet a Bait to humane Ambition; and where the neceſſity is ſo abſolute, I rather reſolve (though with ſome injuſtice) to aſcend the Throne, then ſee the Kingdom periſh. And when I call to mind how this Monarchy was founded by the valour and courage of *Pharamond*, ſo much augmented by *Meroijee*, and rendred ſo formidable by *Clovis* the Grand; and after ſo many incomparable Princes, now ready to be ruined, & to fall into the barbarous hands of *Saraſins* and *Pagans*: I am not longer amazed at my own boldneſs, nor can I plead againſt my own ambition, if I take upon me to be the Soveraign. And if *Childrick* muſt loſe it, no Subject can be fitter then *Pepin* to wear the Crown of *France*; whoſe Anceſtors (as well as himſelf) have ſo ſucceſsfully ſerved their Princes, and ſo affectionately gained the Peoples hearts. But I muſt yet examine, and have a ſcrutiny in the corner of mine own heart; whether I, who have been ſo faithful and good a ſubject, may not prove a Tyrannous and inſufferable King; and ſo may not be ſuſpected of injury and injuſtice to all the People, who have undermined and been ſo unworthy to my own Prince. To this I anſwer, The Prince ought to be as tranſcendent in worth above others, as he is in place and degree; and to ſtrip himſelf of all predominant paſſions, to love the Peoples good above his own, to do nothing injuſt, and not ſo much as to deſire his own renown; but by the noble aſcents of vertue: Kings ought to take pains and travel to make their Subjects repoſe more ſecure and ſweet, to undertake the dangers of War; but with no other end, but better to eſtabliſh and ſettle a peace; and to imploy that peace, not in Riot and Luxury; but for a more exact courſe of Equity and Juſtice; and thereby to cauſe the kingdom to flouriſh, and vertues to ſhine and be triumphant. Likewiſe it is the office of Kings to try before they truſt, leaſt flatterers creep into great imployments, and indanger the ruine of Prince and People; their power muſt not countenance them to be ſevere; nor their Plenty to be too indulgent, ſecure, and too much inclined to clemency. The deſires of a Throne ought to be principally for the Peoples good, and with no other deſign, but for the Princes honour and renown; which as the Sun, ſhould ſend light and heat communicatively over all his Domination. And he who is inveſted with Majeſty, ought to have none but clear and innocent intentions, and a ſoul, not byaſſed with ſiniſter and ignoble ends; but with honourable inclinations to chaſtiſe the wicked, and to prefer and recompence vertuous and meritorious perſons. For he whoſe Soveraignty ſets him above the Laws, ought to have a ſoul more ſublime and ſpiritual, then to be tainted with the groſs Lees and feculency of low and baſe things, as having wiſdom and courage to confirm thoſe bonds of humane Society; and ſo not to fear or violate

thoſe

thoſe rules of peace and juſtice, which his own power hath formed or ſubmitted unto. And as the Prince is to live above the reach of envy and fear, ſo is he not to proſtitute his royal condition to Sycophants and flatterers, who are a kind of poyſonous flies, which will cauſe the ſweeteſt odours and ointments quickly to ſtink; and if I now diſcern (as being near the Throne) the breath of ſo much ſubtile poiſon; what Arts and Craft will not be undertaken to deceive and delude, with golden language of Treachery and diſſimulation, when I have the royal Scepter in my hand? As to this inſtant, I never met with any perſon, who dared to ſay to me; *Accept not of the Crown.* And if all perſons have been ſo compliant before my advancement to the Throne, how officious and obſequious will they appear, when I have the Scepter in my hands?

In the debate of theſe affairs, I meet with many invincible objections to diſſwade and diſcourage my reſolutions; but fortune and my own ambition have put wings to my expectations, and kindled ſuch a fire in my heart, as I cannot extinguiſh; and therefore I reſolve to hazard my life, honour, and repoſe and abandoning fear, and ſuſpicion of dangers or diſhonor, determine to accept the Crown, and wear the royal Robes; ſo to commend my ſelf and ſucceſſes to the favors of fortune: Thoſe who are in the peril of naufrage, and to be ſhipwrackt in theſe tempeſtuous times, will be well pleas'd if by working at the helm, I preſerve them from periſhing in the angry waves: and if I be not ſo happy as to deliver them from danger, they will honor me for my adventures and endeavors. And if it ſo happen and fall out, that my reign be more proſperous, then the irregular Government of *Childerick*, I ſhall be eſteemed more innocent as well as more renowned; and thoſe who have been my equals, will more contentedly become my humble and loyal Subjects; as for Competitours and Rivals in my fortune (if any) as I am able to ſtep a degree before them, ſo I ſhall be more enabled (in that quality) to curb their inſolency, or chaſtiſe their diſcontents: though the action be not juſtifiable, yet ſucceſsful events may render it noble and honourable in the reputation of the world; and if the poſterity of *Pepin* degenerate, grow effeminate, fooliſh and baſe, yet *Pepin* will be commended for his high attempts; and the weakneſs and miſgovernment of *Childerick* and his Anceſtors, will be a ſtep to mount *Pepin's* honour to a higher eſtimation in all the Univerſe. It is true, I ſee not ſuch Princely indowments in *Charles* my ſon, as to merit to wear a Crown, (though his natural parts are tolerable) and it will prove a greater task for *Charles* to follow *Pepin*, then for *Pepin* to follow *Childerick*; but who knows whether *Pepin* may not ſo deeply plant the foundations of reſpect in his ſubjects hearts, as not onely to reign himſelf, but to make fair way for *Charles* to be his ſucceſſour; and if he improve not himſelf by his virtues and merits, nor cannot win their ſuffrages; it is not inglorious for *Pepin* to be a King, though his ſon ſucceed him not: and yet I doubt not but to be able to remove that difficulty; for when I find my ſelf to grow old or indiſpoſed, I ſhall ſurrender the Crown to *Charles*, and his poſſeſſion of ſo royal a fortune will (probably) raiſe him ſtrength and forces to ſupport his Soveraignty; and when I am not fit to march in the field, I ſhall become his Councellor for the better conduct of his great affairs; and now if by depoſing an unworthy & luxurious Prince, I be ranked amongſt the uſurpers of Crowns, the diſhonour is the leſs, becauſe the Kingdom required an alteration, and I cannot but reign with more ſecurity and leſs hatred. And if I have aſcended by an uſurpation, yet it was effected without

out a war, or violence, or cauſing a deſolation to the Kingdom: And if *Pharamond* founded the Monarchy, & *Meroije* enlarged the domination, and *Clovis* demoliſhed the Idol-Altars; yet I ſhall be renowned for the protection of Juſtice, Innocency & Virtue, and for the abandoning of the deſtructive vices of a luxurious Court and kingdom. I propoſe theſe glorious deſigns to my ſelf, which cannot but make my renown as immortal as that of the *Ceſars*, when the Subjects ſhall confeſs, that *Pepin* doth not only reign, but gloriouſly; and that he is not ſo much feared as loved; and that he did not ambitiouſly mount himſelf, but that the people paſſionately carried & lifted him up to the Throne of *Childrick*; and that it was not *Pepin* that made himſelf a King, but that the weakneſs of unworthy Princes, the miſgovernment and miſeries of their reign, the ſervices of *Pepins* Anceſtors, the ſuffrages of the people, together with *Pepins* own virtues, & the will of heaven, ſet the Crown on *Pepins* head: ſee (ſage Prelate) what were *Pepins* thoughts before he held the Royal Scepter, what were his reſolutions when he ſate on the Throne, & what he would have the world to think of him, when he had deſcended to his Tomb.

The Cenſure.

HOw ſtrong ſoever the arguments and reaſons of Pepin *may appear, yet the effects of his intentions will prove better warrants for his actions, than his allegations & diſcourſe for to get a Crown, to which none ought to dare to aſpire, but he who is a man after Gods own heart, as it was* Davids *caſe, in depoſing of wicked* Saul. *The priviledges of a royal birth are attended with ſo many difficulties, that whoſoever overcomes them, cannot but be more than an extraordinary perſon. 'Tis true, the people are mutable & given to change, & voluntarily to ſeek new Maſters, their judgment is not ſo profound, as to forſee what they uſually loſe by thoſe alterations; a capricious angry wantonnes quickly armeth them againſt their ancient Kings, but commonly they fight for others, & not for themſelves; and under the pretence of gaining greater priviledges, like flies in the Spiders webs, are more entangled: and as for Princes, who have ſurreptitiouſly gained the Crown of others, it is impoſſible but they muſt have as great dangers in the enjoyment of them, as they had difficulties in aſcending to them; for a royal Scepter is only ſupported by his hand,* who meaſureth the earth, and weigheth the mountains in the Scales, *without whoſe providence a certain ruine is inevitable. New Princes cannot but diſoblige new ſubjects, whether they are of the civil or martial garb & order; the Souldiers are neceſſary to watch and guard to keep out fear & dangers; and their humors are generally very inſolent, and not ſatisfied with common rewards, and therefore will be apt to murmur and grow mutinous; the civil part of the people will cry out as oppreſſed with new taxations, which are the neceſſary conſequences of war, and therefore will incline to be ſeditious. Thus new dominations bring along with them the train of miſerable & provocative effects. A great Polititian ſaid (long ſince) that a Prince uſurping a Throne, maketh all whom he injureth to be his enemies, & he is hardly able to preſerve an amity even with thoſe who have advanced him to the Throne, becauſe their expectation is inſatiable; and as for to uſe violent remedies, it is impoſſible*

where his ſuſpitions are ſo many, and his obligations ſo great. Subjects are apt to frown and murmur to ſee him who was once their equal, ſo highly elevated above them; and (although ſuperiority have been the commencement of Monarchies long ſince, and are of a divine foundation) yet to interrupt or ſuppreſs a royal Linage, cannot be undertaken without the fear of as much danger as diſhonour, and whereas Pepin *and* Hugh Capet *(being ſo highly born, and ſo great Generals) were ſo hardy and bold; it is to be conjectured, that they had rather an inſpiration than ambition, whereby to follow the decrees of Heaven; and ſo free from common vanity, they rather referred themſelves to divine Providence, than to an undiſcreet deſire to reign. The Royal Throne is ſo far above the fortune of a private perſon, that he who admitteth that ambitious indiſcreet deſign to be predominant in his ſoul, doth but gripe at Thrones, walk on a precipice, ſtrives againſt the ſtream; and although he ſail with the breath of fortune, and more violently for the preſent, yet his obſtacles are ſo many and ſo certain, that the foundation of a Crown exceeds* Hercules *labours, and under whoſe weight the greateſt* Hero *is apt to lie down, and to be ground to powder.* Atilla, *who was ſtiled the* Rod of God, *as bad as he was, may teach us that all Power comes from God, and that it continueth no longer than he pleaſeth. The* Aſſyrians, Perſians, Greeks, Parthians *and* Romans *have reigned, and their viciſſitudes inſtruct us, that he who never changeth, cauſeth an alteration of all things elſe according to his pleaſure; and theſe great mutations arrive for reaſons unrevealed to us, and that God alone foreſeeth all things, who is inviſible; let us then adore, on ſuch occaſions, whom we cannot comprehend: and ſeeing that we guide not the Helm of the great Veſſel of providence, let us adore and honour him who ruleth all things: It is he* who putteth the mighty from their ſeat, & exalteth the humble & meek, *Thus alterations ſucceed in Empires & Kingdoms; and we may conclude that greater bodies (when God is pleaſed to permit it) have their revolutions and changes, as well as the leaſt and ſmalleſt Creatures. Now the diſcourſe changeth to* Tamerlane *the Emperor of the* Tartars, *who ſo tormented and ill treated* Bajazet; *which Hiſtory acquainteth us with a more viſible certainty of this truth, that God will have the proud humbled, and the humble exalted.*

TAMBERLANE

TAMERLANE Emperour of Tartarie called the wrath of God and terrour of the World, He overthrew and tooke prisoner BAIAZET Greate Emperour of ye Turks, shutting him vp in an Iron Cage. His Army consisting of 100000. men. He also Conquered Molopotamia. Babilon, with the Kingdome of Persia. He died 1402

TAMBERLANE
EMPEROR OF THE
TARTARS,
TO
AXALLA
HIS
LIEVT. GENERAL.

YOu have effected such noble Atchievments under my Standard Royal, or (to speak ingeniously) I have gained so much by your proper Valour, that I cannot but be much amazed, that you who have been so great an instrument of my Glory, and so free a sharer in all my successes and triumphs, have not been so friendly as to take notice of me in my proceedings; and so to tax me of less judgment, who have sometimes been so extreamly severe and rigorous, and sometimes so excessively merciful and indulgent. You might justly demand from me, what reasons perswaded me to imprison *Bajazet* within an iron Cage; and (at that time) to be so gentle to his Sons, as not to inchain nor confine them, but to give them their liberty, and treat an Emperour as a common Slave; notwithstanding I so frankly remitted all those Prisoners and Slaves which I took at *Caramania*. I answer (*Axalla*) you have been my General, my Companion, and my Friend; yet you have not so deeply founded and fathomed the bottom of my heart, as to pry into the secrets of all my Counsels and Resolves: and therefore your admiration may be the greater, not discerning the cause and reasons of such contrarieties, which (upon several circumstances) forced me to such extremities, and either to be violently severe, or most abundantly merciful. It is true you may wonder that I treated a captive Prince with as much rigour, as if he had been the meanest vassal; and, you may say, that the Conqueror is obliged to respect the qualities of his prisoners; and so ought to use personages of highest condition,

tion, though enemies (with honour and civility. I anſwer, I have not (in this occaſion) acted with capricious levity, nor malicious cruelty: as for my clemency and ſeverity, they are not certain rules of my prudence & policy; I regard neither hatred nor pity to my actions; Reaſon alone is my guide, which teacheth me to give puniſhment, pardon, or promotion, as I ſhall judge fit. And reaſon alone which cauſed me to chain and impriſon *Bajazet*, directed me to ſet the Priſoners and Slaves at liberty. But perhaps you will ſay thoſe that are born in a Countrey where there is little learning, are leſs civil, & have not much veneration any where, and their policy is but rude and ſavage; which though it inviteth them to approve their own actions, & that which their paſſion doth inſpire: but ſuch proceedings reliſh neither of honour nor equity. I muſt confeſs (*Axalla*) that part of *Europe* (where you were bred) hath a great advantage for education in relation to thoſe colder climates; for *Genoa* is in *Italy*, and *Italy* is (at this day) what *Greece* was in ancient times, the Mother of Sciences, & fountain of Learning: yet it is true, that I am not altogether ignorant of the *Royal Science* which teacheth Princes to reign with juſtice, or to puniſh without cruelty, and to pardon without weakneſs and fear; & ſo to act the one or the other, as it ſhall tend more to mine advantage, or mine honour. *Policy* (without doubt) is a thing which *may be learned from books*, but *experience is a more certain Miſtreſs, and teacheth her Scholars more effectually*. Now to perſwade you to believe what I ſay, as a matter not falling out by meer chance, but by ſerious and laborious ſtudies; I muſt put you in mind that this inſolent & proud Prince *Bajazet* was ſomtimes called the *Shepherd*, by a tart Ralliary; becauſe of thoſe abundant of flocks of ſheep which he fed in his country, a condition not agreeing with the royalty of his Birth. Yes (*Axalla*) you cannot but remember, how at the age of fifteen, the K. of *Sachatay* my Father, gave me a Kingdom to govern; and when I was but ſixteen, I undertook the management of the Wars againſt the *Muſcovites*; who, when they were ranged in Battalia, were forced to yield, and I ſlew no leſs than 40000 of my enemies: and that memorable day reduced them to be my Tributaries. After that, you know how the grave *Cham* of *Tartary* mine Uncle, cauſed me to eſpouſe his daughter, & thought me not unworthy to be his Succeſſor: notwithſtanding in my abſence, ambitious *Calix* aſpired to the Empire; & knowing me (to be at ſuch a diſtance) levied Arms, and drew into his parties the people of *Catay*; but after this injury, I had the good fortune to vanquiſh this enemy, and take him Priſoner; and in concluſion, reſolving that his crimes ſhould not be unrevenged, I drenched his rebellion in his bloud, & cauſed him to loſe his head, thus to fix more ſecurely the crown upon mine own: & I reſolved then not to pardon, leſt I ſhould have loſt my ſelf. (*Axalla*) you are not ignorant, when I waged war againſt the K. of *China*, how at laſt I made my ſelf maſter of that long and prodigious wall, which the *Chinoiſs* had erected to ſeparate themſelves ſocially from the *Tartars*; how I forced the towns of *Paquinſow*, of *Paquinohu*, of *Teauchenoy*, & of *Panmihu*; & that I gave him three great battels, and loſt none. In the laſt battel I made him my priſoner, and in this ſucceſs finding that the practice of generoſity would not be dangerous, I made a notable example of my clemency, and reſtored to him his Kingdom, and his liberty; contenting my ſelf with a moderate tribute, as a teſtimony & memory to my victories. Since this effect (moſt generous *Axalla*, whom I equally honour as my ſelf) you know that it was through your prayers & councels

Counſels, that I condeſcended to grant thoſe ſuccours and auxiliaries to the Emperour of *Greece*, to enable him to reſiſt in the juſt invaſion of cruel *Bajazet*, from that Prince (I ſay) who gloried in the renunciation of all humanity; and concluded that Soveraignty was given to Kings for no other end, but to practiſe the higheſt injuſtice & cruelty, without all impunity; who was as well pleaſed to ſluce out the bloud of the *Mahometans*, as the *Chriſtians*; and loved more to ſee Innocency ſuffer, than to puniſh Vice; whoſe Ambition was ſuch, as not limited with any bounds, of either Reaſon, Religion, Alliance with neighbours, or any other ſort of humane Rights; and whoſe cruelty was ſo implacable, as not ſatisfied with revenge and bloud, though it were of his own Brothers or deareſt friends. This (*Axalla*) is that enemy which you counſelled me to encounter, and to give protection to the Emperour of the *Greeks*; you aided me in the fight, when I vanquiſhed and made him priſoner; but I profeſs ſolemnly, you were not of my council to have him fettered and bound in chains; you were privy to that ſecret, when the *Greek* Emperor (of whom I ſpake, & relieved on your intereſt) conceiving himſelf obliged to my protection, ſent to me the offer of his Empire, how that I refuſed it. You know at the ſame time, when I impriſoned *Bajazet*, I delivered & ſet free *Deſpote de Servia*, without ſo much as ranſom, whom I took in the ſame Battel; and how I treated the Children of *Bajazet* with kindneſs & honour, and that the *Mahometans* & *Chriſtians* were equally ſatisfied in me, as to their preſent condition. Beſides all this, you remember how I revenged my ſelf on the *Sultan* of *Egypt*, who aſſiſted *Bajazet*, and having almoſt intirely conquered the *Ottoman* Empire, how I took in *Damaſcus*, *Damietta*, *Alexandria*, *Grand Caire*, and the moſt conſiderable places of his Eſtate; and having been victorious in two Royal Battels, I forced him and his ſcattered Troops to flie, reſolving to give him neither Truce nor Peace, nor a ceſſation of Arms; you cannot likewiſe but remember that *Arabia Felix*, and a part of *Affrica*, having voluntarily ſubmitted to me as I marched, how I treated them with all ſweetneſs poſſible, and how the *Perſians* reſiſting, I combated with them, beat and ſubdued them; and having conquered the inſolent numbers of that Grand Empire, I ſubjugated to my power all the *Gluntura*, and all the *Tampeſtan*; and having maſtered the great Town of *Tauris*, I placed you my Lieutenant General there, as my Vice-Roy in thoſe parts; (And to your greater aſtoniſhment yet) paſſing by the *Ardevel*, on my return to *Semarcand*, with an infinite number of Slaves of *Caramania*, and of all the vicine Nations; you cannot but recall to your thoughts how that *Cheqſapy*, a perſon of great virtue (whom I honoured with a Viſit) begging liberty for all his Slaves, I accorded without repugnancy, conſenting with much joy, conceiving it juſt not to refuſe his requeſt, who was ſo noble to ask ſo much for others, and ſo little or nothing for himſelf. After all this experience of War, Conqueſt, and Succeſs; you cannot (faithful *Axalla*) but conclude that I have gained the Art and Science how to reign & rule; & that my reaſons are valid & ſtrong for the variety of my different conduct in ſuch great affairs; and if I have pardoned humble ſlaves, and puniſhed a moſt ſuperb and inſolent Emperour, I have learned this way of Policy in the head of my Army, and from the impetuoſity of mine enemies, that *it is moſt proper for Majeſty to humble the proud, and pardon the ſubmiſs.* This practice is not only neceſſary in the times of war, but in the times of Peace; a rule to be obſerved at all times and all places. Lawful Princes

ought to regard this qualification; and as for Uſurpers, they cannot reign without it, this being a means to ſtop the rage of Civil Wars, and more promptly to conclude forreign Invaſions. By this way Juſtice will flouriſh and reſiſt a greater inundation of popular vices; and this will make Kings as well feared as loved. Yes (noble *Axalla*) the juſt mixture of ſweetneſs and ſeverity is the ſecret which renders Royalty more formidable, and leſs hateful; for *a Prince who alwaies is inexorable, imprinteth nothing but fear and terrour into his Subjects*; and *he who is too meek and mild, doth with pardons & familiarity more eaſily provoke diſloyalty and diſobedience.* wherefore a prudent Prince with theſe two qualities, will keep the world in ſuſpence, & make them alwaies ſerve his preſent purpoſe, without raſhly falling into either extremity. Is it not fit that any perſon who is proud ſhould be corrected by the chaſtiſements of Royal Power; & thoſe who are penitent and cordially humbled, ſhould be cheriſhed with the hopes of a gracious remiſſion? In this caſe Kings ought to imitate thunderbolts, which paſs by humble ſhrubs, but ſhatter audacious and proud Oaks, whoſe high tops aſpire to touch the clouds. The Lion could not have merited that glorious quality as to be ſtiled the King of Beaſts, but becauſe he exerciſeth his fury againſt the moſt inſolent creatures; he ſooner paſſes by the feeble and gentle Lamb, than the force & fierceneſs of Buls and the rage of Tigers. Thoſe Princes who would conſerve their Eſtates in better ſecurity, cannot find a more certain way, than by their circumſpection towards the Grandees of their Kingdom, and to ſee that they approach not ſo near to the Throne, as to have but one ſtep more to aſcend, & ſo to mount to Majeſty. A wiſe King will alwaies keep as great a diſtance between him & his Lords, as they are to make between them & the people, if he intends to preſerve his honour: if the Prince intend a ſuper-elevation to any of his Subjects, his foreſight of their humility ought to be the firſt ſtep to their advancement; or if they be too ſuperb & haughty, their pride is to be puniſhed with ſeverity & vindicative juſtice, that their diſgrace might teach them more humble obedience. Now if this Maxim be neceſſary for a Prince, who is contented with the inheritance of his Anceſtors, and there to govern his Subjects in Tranquility; it is much more important to him who deſires to enlarge his Territories, and is ambitious to add Victories, Triumphs and Conqueſts to the Atchievments of his Anceſtors. For if a Prince in Battalia kill the General, he is in great poſſibility to be Conquerour; & it arrives very rarely that fortune admitteth theſe to triumph, whoſe General & Head ſhe hath ſuffered to be taken away: Thus if a Prince aſſault the Capital City of a Kingdom, & chance to become Maſter, all inferiour Towns (probably) render themſelves with greater facility. It is then moſt certainly true, that it tendeth to greateſt advantage to encounter with objects of greateſt difficulty. When an Army marcheth through an enemies Country, it ſtaies not before every Town and Village of leſs importance, but rather advanceth to ſuch a place that may be worthy, or recompence a ſiege: & when the taking in of one Town may be an occaſion to reduce an hundred. That wch I ſaid before of war and juſtice in general, I may now ſay of the reputation of Princes in particular: it is from the head, the higheſt & moſt noble part whereon the fortune, felicity, & glory of Kings depends. It may be if I had not taken off the head of *Calix* ſeaſonably, who inſolently revolted againſt me; that ſole Traitor might have proved an invincible obſtacle to my deſigns. It might have fallen out then, that I might not have

been

been K. of *Sachetay*, nor have commanded the *Tartars*, nor have defeated *Bajazet*; I might possibly not have vanquished so great a part of *Egypt*, nor so mightily have subdued *Persia*; and if I had not been successful in the protection of the *Grecian* Emperour (perhaps) I might have been a Vassal to him whom I have confined to his Chains. Do not admire then (brave *Axalla*) if I do not pardon the insolency of *Bajazet*; my severity in this grand example, cannot but make my Conquest more glorious and renowned: you know that this Prince was not only in the view of all the earth, but likewise in his Reign was the terrour of all the Universe; what a noise then shall his Chains make to all the world? what security and advantage may not all men hope to themselves by the imprisonment of this horrid Monster? Those whom he so ill treated under his triumphant and victorious Banners, will account themselves eternally obliged to me, that I have chastised their enemy, and taken revenge on him, from whom they had received so many evils; those who are yet mine enemies, will cease to be severe in their designs against me, lest they draw that upon their own heads which *Bajazet* contracted on his, by his unparallell'd cruelties: To conclude, I am well assured, if I should admit the suffrages of all men into deliberation with me, I should find that none would plead for his ease or a relaxation, but rather an augmentation of his shame and punishment, and to dispatch away his life with the most exquisite tortures, (Besides) in the abasing of the proud, two considerable effects succeed; the one in causing a small number of criminous persons to suffer, proveth the means to preserve infinite multitudes; who either cease to be malicious, or prevent themselves to be offenders. A second advantage is, that *in the remission of an injury, to those who humbly repent, much glory is gained without any danger*: for as in the multitudes of men, greater numbers are more fearful than hardy & audacious; so many thousand mouths will be quickly open to praise the clemency of the Pr. when perhaps one or some few malicious discontents will murmur & repine against his severity: to give you an example; these great numbers of slaves, whom I have set at liberty, & who are now on their return to their several provinces, are gone to gain me the hearts of their fellow-Citizens, & so to establish my conquests by their promulgations of my clemency; where (on the contrary) *Bajaz.* alone, being more unfortunate, will scarce have any companion to join with him in complaints: thus consequently, I have not acted against reason, when I commanded the prison gates to be set wide open for the slaves of *Caramania*; and (at the same time) commanded stronger Bars of Iron to confine & cage up *Bajazet*: the insolency of a revolted Subject is ever insupportable, the same is as equally difficult in a proud enemy, who hath his Arms in his hand; but if that insolency be exorbitant in a vanquisht enemy, he deserveth the highest punition; if it be not permitted for one in triumph to vapour and insult over those whom he hath surmounted, how intollerable then think you is the violent precosity of a prisoner of war, who holds his life from him who hath made him his captive, which he can take away at his pleasure. No, no (*Axalla*) *constancy of courage and insolency of pride are not the same things*; It may well become prisoners of war to carry their Irons with nobleness of mind, and not to lose their hearts, though they have lost the victory: Martial discipline never permitted a lessening of that respect which the captive oweth the conqueror, and to retort upon him with reproach & injury is a higher crime; a Conqnerour may justly reflect upon himself,

seated

ſeated in the Chair of Majeſty and Triumph, whilſt Captives & Priſoners are to follow the Royal Train with humble looks & misfortunate comportments; ſo that it is not allowed for any Captive (though never ſo great) to act as did inſolent *Bajazet*; whoſe Pride was as vainly elevated, as his fortune miſerably abaſed. The *King* of *China*, whom I re-admitted to his Crown and Kingdom, acted nothing (after his misfortunes) unworthy of his royal condition; as he was not baſe, he was not proud and inſolent; when he treated with *Tamberlane*, he ſpake with boldneſs & generoſity, yet not fiercely, or impudently without reſpect, he did nothing unlike a King, nor any thing that exceeded the fortune of his preſent qualit y; therefore I had reaſon to treat him otherwiſe than *Bajazet*: and I am to be more honoured, if I have been indulgent to the one, & not to the other. What do you think would not this Tiger have attempted in his rage, if he ſhould have been looſed from his Chains? he would certainly firſt have adventured to have torn him in pieces who gave him his liberty (if he had power) and railing equally againſt all men would, (if he were able) become the publick enemy of the Univerſe: He would tell the world his Subjects had betrayed him, that his Souldiers had forſaken him, that his enemies had evilly treated him: thus reſuming his Scepter in rage and malice, he would have deſigned a deſolation to all the earth, or (at leaſt) would have ſought the means. No, no, (*Axalla*) he who will not be a good Prince (ſhall being a Captive) whether he will or no, become a real Slave, without hopes to return to a Throne of Majeſty; of which Cruelty hath rendered him unworthy, & made him more fit to carry Chains & Irons. Clemency, on this occaſion, might introduce too many dangers, and the intereſt of ſo many people concern'd, is not inconſiderately to be paſſed over. Severity to *Bajazet* is more neceſſary than royal Civility, to make *Bajazet* to ſee the uglineſs of his own vices (and if poſſible) to cauſe an alteration in his ſavage humors. Beſides, who may not expect pardon, if *Bajazet* ſhould eſcape with any grace or lenity? he who is the curſe and execration of all the world (and who, though vanquiſhed) ſpeaks & acts ſuch things as are able to enflame the moſt calm & gentle ſoul with rage and fury. As for the ſlaves I pardoned, they were not capital, but ſubordinate enemies, ingaged in a party who were againſt me; perhaps thoſe men in their private condition quietly diſpoſed, & unwilling & incapable voluntarily to offend; & conſequently ſuch perſons were proper objects for a Princes clemency: ſuch an action as this carries along with it the preſence of ſplendor and honour; nay, there is a kind of equity which pleadeth pardon for thoſe who humbly beg for clemency, & policy is not againſt the proceedings, if it foreſee not peril and danger in the conſequence. The true bounds which are to be given to clemency or ſeverity, are to be meaſured & examined by the rule of juſtice; and ſhe is to be obſerv'd how far ſhe ſuffers the one or the other to appear: ſome crimes are ſo horrid, as juſtice will not allow them ſo paſs unpuniſh'd; as ſhe will not admit virtues to be deprived of their reward & recompence. Now in this conſideration, we ought to judge whether clemency may be of more diſadvantage, or ſeverity more ſerviceable; ſo diſcerning whether to employ & exerciſe the one or the other; thus guided to undertake nothing but for the publick intereſt or ſoveraign glory. The chiefeſt mark & note of Majeſty is, the loyal ſubmiſſion of ſubjects, & the higheſt mark of victory is, the humble proſtration of the vanquiſhed, who do not only caſt down their Arms, but their Lives and Liberties at the Conque-

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rours feet; whereas on the contrary, thoſe who oppoſe the Divine Character of Princes in their Soveraignty, are born up with the exceſs of Pride and Arrogancy: & that provocation is more intollerable which ſpringeth from the inſolency of a Captive, then from the defiance of an enemy. Be not then longer aſtoniſhed (*Axalla*) if you have obſerved me, ſometimes ſo gracious, and at other times ſo ſevere; but be perſwaded that I have ever been guided by the hand of Reaſon, I have pardoned where I could, and not prejudiced the advancement of my Conqueſts; I have been inflexible, and not to be moved, when I foreſaw that my Clemency might not only prove unjuſt, but dangerous; either as to the peoples good, or to my own deſigns. It is an obſervation in Nature, that ſhe oppoſeth thoſe things that do reſiſt her, and gently yields to thoſe things which courteouſly offer place; ſo then from the ſimple motions of nature we cannot but accord to that which is here aſſerted. Joyn then with me (*Axalla*) in this Concluſion, and ſay, That whoever conſidereth the perſon of *Bajazet*, that then cruelty her ſelf ceaſed to be cruelty; and that it is true that his humour was inſupportable, bloudy, inſolent, and unnatural, and therefore merited leaſt compaſsion; it was then a judicious reſolution to detain him within bars of iron, whom reaſon could not perſwade nor be predominant with. To theſe reſolutions, let us perpetuate a continuation, ſo not think it irrational to pardon chearfully thoſe who humbly ſubmit to our power, and to puniſh with ſeverity thoſe whom neither misfortunes, nor captivity can reduce to a ſubmiſsion. Let not our pardons be granted out of fear and feebleneſs, and let not our chaſtiſements be provoked through preoccupation and hatred. Thus to wind up the clew of this diſcourſe, let us reſolve neither to pardon nor puniſh, but when reaſon ſhall conduct us for the ends of the peoples greater good, or the Princes more illuſtrious renown.

The Cenſure.

ANger is a paſſion which reigneth too much in every breſt, but principally moſt with Kings, who are ſo high that they ought to be above thoſe ſtorms and tempeſts which are condenſed and formed in the middle Region of the air; as Princes ſurmount all others in their titles, ſo they ought to tranſcend them in their vertues, ſo to be leſs tranſported with the heat of paſſion: He who invented the fable of Minerva, *who broke her Pipe or Hobey, when ſhe ſaw her viſage in the Cryſtal Fountain; doth tell us that beholding her cheeks puffed and ſwelled, (which cauſed her deformity & uglineſs) prudently broke that inſtrument which diſfigured her beauty, and ſo changed her countenance. This pretty Story repreſents that great change and alteration which untamed paſſion tranſmitteth ſuddenly into the ſoul, which (if ſhe be wiſe) ſhe preſently abandoneth, and on the ſight of the deformity, avoideth or ſuppreſſeth more carefully. In effect, thoſe people who cauſed their children to look on their ſlaves, when they were debauched and drunken, to imprint into them the horror of that ugly vice, did likewiſe cauſe them to look on their ſlaves in their rage and choler, to make them apprehend more perfectly the deformities of paſſion, & ſo to cauſe in them a greater caution and deteſtation of ſuch vicious infirmities. Such a humor conſiſtent of Sulphur and Salt-peter, becomes not a prudent ſoul; nor is to converſe with a ſage and rational Man. Xerxes who threatned to ſet bounds to the Sea, and level the Mountains (if they did not facilitate a*

passage to his Army) *appeared to all the World more ridiculous then formidable in the extravagancy of his passion.* Hippocrates (*the Prince of Physicians*) *saith, That* it is a signal token of a great Malady to see the countenance much altered; *and to this purpose* Plutarch *used these words, that before a man go out of the Bath he ought to behold himself in a glass; if he blush at his nakedness when he hath parted with his cloathes; how ought he to be ashamed at his passions, when he hath parted with his reason. But after all these vertues and vices though they have some near resemblances, are not to be rudely mixed in confusion. Those who are valiant are not to be esteemed rash, nor those who are liberal profuse and prodigal, nor those who are severe utterly unjust and cruel. We read that* Nemesis *and* Adrastia *were as well Deities as* Jupiter, *and that necessity as well required Goddesses of revenge, as of power and patronage; it is true, that* Justice as well as Clemency is a Divine Attribute; *and that the one as well as the other is necessary for Kings, who represent on earth* the Image of God.

When Alexander *asked* Porus *his generous Prisoner how he would treat him, if* Alexander *could be unfortunate: Porus answered he would treat him like a King. Thus did* Tamberlane *yield to the shining Sun, when no blustring Tempest could bend his inclinations. It is true, as* Sophocles *saith in his Tragedy of* Antigone, *That* Reason and Understanding hardly dwell with men in misery, or at least bears not company so much with them in their misfortunes; for though men be sage and stout in their prosperity, yet adversity is able to diminish and weaken their best abilities. *It is* Seneca, *who speaketh in his Epistles, that* he is a perfect good man whom no accident can render evil. *And the same Author saith in his Book* De Ira, *That* Vertue ought never to have recourse to Vice. *In his second Book* De Clementia, *That a* Wise man ought always to act as intending the common good of all men. *And from all these instances we may conclude, that* (*on several occasions*) *to punish and to pardon are equally necessary. A Prince is to proceed in his great affairs as a skilful Musician with his different Notes; which* (*according to the Air*) *he changeth at pleasure; high or low, to briefs, longs, or flats, providing that all alterations intend to effect better harmony, and a sweeter composure in the Government of the Estate: thus the proceedings of* Tamberlane *are more justifiable, and the severe punishments he inflicted on* Bajazet *were chastisements becoming his insolency, who so imprudently and outragiously provoked so triumphant a Conqueror. Hence we learn that the examples of extreme severity and clemency may in their seasons be equally important in the affairs of Princes. She who in the Scripture is stiled fair as the* Moon, and bright as the Sun, *is immediately termed* terrible as an Army with Banners. *Words which instruct Kings to have always the two Royal Supporters of Clemency and Justice to bear up their Throne; these great vertues are not to be abused with Passion, but to be guided by reason in all their actions. And now we are from* Tartary *returned to* France, *where we may see* Hugh Capet, *who after he had abrogated the office of the Major of the Pallace, constituted the high trust and dignity of the Constable of* France, *which is a degree that scarcely approacheth to Soveraignty it self. Here follow the reasons of his resolutions in a matter of so high concernment. This* Hugh *was the first and chief of the third race of the Kings of* France.

HUGH

HUGH CAPET
TO
FREDERICK
COUNT OF
METS.

I Do not doubt but that the high deſign, I have in hand, doth much aſtoniſh you, & that after my diſcharge of the Major of the Pallace (wch Office I have ſuppreſſed) yet thought it not fit to confer that place on my ſon, thereby to remove all pretenſion and expectation from the Grandees of my Kingdom, in the management and diſpoſal of my affairs, that I have created the Authority and Office of the Conſtable of *France*; which is a degree and quality wherein a Subject ſeems to approach exceeding cloſe and near to Soveraignty it ſelf. Perhaps ſome may ſay, that in the Creation of this Supreme Officer, my hand is tired, and that I am not longer able to ſway and ſupport my Royal Scepter; or that my elevation to the Throne hath ſo raviſhed my ſenſe and reaſon with the *ſplendour* of Majeſty, that I cannot rule without ſome immediate aſſiſtance; and that becauſe I judged the *Majors* of the *Pallace* (in their office) to be leſs glorious to their Prince; therefore I cauſed a ſuppreſſion of that more intolerable Authority, which ſo much uſurped over the royal quality of ſome of my Anceſtors in their weaker abilities, who did precede famous *Pepin*; and in which office I gained ſo much honour and power under *Lewis the fifth*. But this ſuppreſſion of the *Major* of the *Pallace* did not utterly remove my thoughts from all approbation of one to be advanced to more ſignal and high truſt: For as the vertues of the Subjects are great advancers of vertues and worth in their Prince; ſo are the wiſdom and parts of a prudent Councellour or chief *Miniſter* of *State*, of an abſolute neceſſity for the more glorious tranſaction of the illuſtrious affairs of Kings. From theſe conſiderations, I wiſh that the Kings of *France* may not be without an eternal Competitour, whoſe abilities may heighten and advance their Prince to more glorious endeavours;

endeavours; thereby to incline the Revolution of their Crown towards their children, or (if they ſhould be incapable) towards themſelves. This Emulation in a Subject (ſpringing from nothing but true renown) cannot but make the Prince and the Royal Family more induſtrious and diligent, the better to execute the Royal Function: and though I create an Office and Order of an high and great truſt, yet I doubt not, but with good ſucceſs; and preſume that hand of Providence which hath eſtabliſhed this Throne (although ſometimes poſſeſſed by perſonages of greater weakneſs) will ſtill continue his protection, maugre the malice of all enemies whomſoever. Now to ſatisfie the world that I act not without reaſon, I muſt let you know that Royalty (which is the firſt and *Primum Mobile* in an Eſtate or Kingdom) ought to be fortified and coroborated with ſome vicine and near aſſiſtance; into which the Prince may infuſe and impart his pleaſure and power: and that effected, there may ſucceed an activity and influence to cauſe a communication to all inferiour and ſubordinate orbs and motions to facilitate the Government of greater affairs. An eminent perſon or Prince of quality nearly approaching to the condition of his Soveraign, is ſo neceſſary, as without the Councils and aſſiſtance of a chief Miniſter of State it is almoſt impoſſible to enjoy or ſee a proſperous Reign in the Negotiations of ſo great a kingdom. The glorious body of the bright Sun cannot (at the ſame inſtant) communicate his beams, and be radiant to all cantons and corners of the earth; and if the Sun did not participate his lumination to the inferiour ſtars, the Semicircle and Moiety of the World would ever be enveloped in obſcurity and darkneſs. Thus it is not poſſible for a Prince to Regulate and honourably Govern his Eſtate without a communication of his power, being as the Sun, to radiate and ſhine over all the parts of his Kingdom at the ſame time. And as it is with *God*, ſo it is with Princes, who bear his Image; the Divine power doth operate by ſecond and ſubordinate cauſes in the Government of the Univerſe; where ſo many different concurrences do meet, and a Kingdom (being a vaſt Body) where ſo many varieties of diſſenting affairs do convene. A Prince cannot effectually operate in them all without a participation of his truſt and power to ſome noble and faithful aſſiſtant. Beſides, a Prince is to the Body Politique and Kingdom, what the Soul is in the Body Natural; and the chief Miniſter of State, is to be as the moſt noble, chiefeſt part and organ to convey his Princes royal pleaſure with more eaſe and honour into all the inferiour parts and members. Thus whoſoever obſerves accurately, and conſiders judiciouſly the Office and obligations of ſupreme Power, muſt rationally conclude, that Kings are not only above their ſubjects in honour and dignity, but in their pains and cares: not only conducting their affairs, but protecting their perſons, directing their people how to enrich themſelves; governing and guarding their lives & fortunes from foreign as well as from unnatural & civil wars. It belongeth to the Princes care to pardon as well as to puniſh; to ſee that Piety and Peace may proſper, and that Juſtice flouriſh. The leaſt of theſe duties is (almoſt) a burden too inſupportable for the ſhoulders of any one, (though never ſo well qualified). Therefore for a more happy tranquility, publick wellfare and repoſe, ſuch a creature is abſolutely neceſſary, in whoſe perſon his Prince may confide; who transferring a great ſhare of weighty affairs to his tranſaction and abilities, the Prince may rule with more honour, and the people enjoy more publique advantages. But as a chief Miniſter may be ſerviceable to the State, ſo it infinitely concerneth

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the Prince to be diſcreet and moſt judicious in his choice: the moſt noble and ſageſt of the Subjects beſt meriteth to be elevated and called to his royal dignity & truſt. For it is certain the Prince very plainly preſageth the ſucceſs and proſperity of his affairs and government, by his election and choice of his chief Counſellor and Miniſter of State; who, if of greater worth, virtue and illuſtrious qualities, doth more dignifie his Maſter, and better gratifie and content his Subjects. But this care is ever to be uſed, that the Prince preſerve his diſtance, leſt his Miniſters grow too inſolent, which might endanger to leſſen the ſplendor of Majeſty, or occaſion injury and injuſtice towards the people. 'Twas for this reaſon why I reſolved to remove & diſcharge the office of the Major of the Palace, who (commonly) ſo much entrenched & encroached on the priviledges belonging to Royalty. Now in the creation of this order of a Conſtable of *France*, I intend nothing elſe but an Office of conveniency; which may prove of great uſe to the Prince & to the Kingdom: and if the Major of the Palace had lived under Princes, who had been able to rule according to the high priviledges of Soveraignty, that office might (to this day) have been more tolerable; but the Princes infirmities having given way to them to grow inſolent, and too much to uſurp on Majeſty, their diſcharge and a conſtitution of a new Order of Conſtable is more proper & agreeable; which place is not inalterable, his Being depending on his Princes pleaſure. Yet *it is found Policy rather not to elevate to high places, than after a Commiſſion ſealed for truſt and honour, to diſgrace and remove.* Wherefore the Prince is not to chuſe his prime Miniſter of State in a tumult of paſſion, or according to the common deluſions of popular vogues and ſuffrages: but after a ſerious conſultation with his own Reaſon, having firſt glanced at the commendations and advice of his beſt and ableſt Counſellors. It it true, thoſe who by eminency of their birth are born near to the Throne, being of royal alliance and blood, having their education proportion'd accordingly to render them more illuſtrious & capable, may expect before others (who are not their Peers, neither in worth or birth) the honour of this high priviledge: but if their virtues be anſwerable to their birth, equity is bound to plead for their dignity & merits. Such a condition is more preferrable, becauſe their perſons & Eſtates are ſo nearly twiſted in the intereſt of the Crown, that they muſt neceſſarily flouriſh with it, or elſe fall, and ſo be buried under the ſame misfortunate and fatal Ruines. And (to confeſs truth impartially) it were a kind of injury, where birth and worth meet, that ſuch perſons ſhould not be graced with the greateſt truſt, the chiefeſt honour, and higheſt qualities; nay, to exclude ſuch illuſtrious Capacities, were not only a diſcouragement to their Noble perſons, but to Virtue & Majeſty it ſelf, which requireth the ſervice & attendance of the greateſt magnificence. Yet this great concernment ought to be of ſuch importance & care that the Pr. take notice, how it is more abſolutely neceſſary that the perſon honour more his place & office with his virtues & abilities, than his place honour him. Therefore an impartial judicious choice is moſt chiefly to be uſed; & if thoſe of more noble birth and extraction (degenerating from the virtues of their Anceſtors, and utterly void of their great abilities) are incapable and merit not ſo near a relation to Soveraignty; the Prince may make his choice where a more virtuous ability & a more noble capacity primely appeareth amongſt others of his Subjects. For as the King hath his priviledge to chuſe at his pleaſure amongſt ſo many thouſands of his people;

ſo each one of them, who is ingenious and virtuous is capable of his Princes election and favour. Now as for the perſons whom the Prince advanceth to ſo high employment, they are as rivers whoſe channels are deep and profound, whoſe banks are diſtanced and large, to that end that the fierce torrents, falling and ſtreaming down, they may not cauſe an inundation, and ſo a deſtruction and ſterility; but gently watering the fields, may cauſe them to be more fruitful and luxuriant: for it is moſt commodious if great Rivers ſwell and make their banks and borders full, all the exceſs in the Current is to fructifie the Country where the ſtream runs, then (at laſt) to empty it ſelf with greater fulneſs into the vaſt & mighty Ocean. Thus the chief Miniſter is like a pleaſant ſtream to enrich the ſtate, and in the end to flow more abundantly with advantages & proſperous returns to Majeſty. Yet if it ſo fall out that the Prince be ſo unfortunate in his choice, that he whom he employeth be not of a fit capacity, he may juſtly fear thoſe diſaſters in government, which are ordinary in the courſe of nature; and that confuſion in the State, which an inundation cauſeth in the country when the banks are broken down; where, if the breaches cannot ſpeedily be repaired, an inevitable danger may ſucceed to the whole Kingdom. On the contrary, if the chief Counſellor be fortunate in his conduct of affairs, and that this employment falleth into the hands of an heroick and noble ſoul; a perſon in whom prudence & all the virtues eminently appear, and who hath gained the true maxims of Policy by a long experience, and whoſe ambition is enflamed intirely for his Maſters ſervice and the peoples welfare; in ſuch a condition the Prince may be confident of his own and of his peoples ſafety. Then heaping honours upon his creature, he may daily communicate to him greater power. In effect if celeſtial providence had not remov'd from the throne the latter Kings, who were legitimate in their birth; but unworthy to deſcend from *Charlemain* by their ignoble qualities, I might yet have been their ſubject; and what authority ſoever, and charge, to be *Major* of the *Palace*, and to be *Count* of *Paris*, *Prince* of *France*, together with the merits of *Hugh de Grand* my Father gave me, I ſhould never have adventured to aſcend the Throne if the right heir to the Crown had not deſcended thence, and if *Charls* of *Lorain* had not by his actions renounced that right to which he might have pretended. All theſe circumſtances accompanied with the univerſal ſuffrages of the people & puiſſant ſoveraignty united, hath invited me to accept what I could not honourably refuſe & reſiſt. Let not Princes fear then to impart & communicate their authority, but when it is evident, & they apprehend it may tend to their diſhonour & diſadvantage. *Princes are ſubject to errour as well as other men, and therefore not without their fears & jealouſies.* Now it is impoſſible but that a Pr. conferring his truſt into the hands of ſuch eminent perſons; their chiefeſt buſineſs wil be to reſpect their Maſters, to obſerve their Laws, and to reduce or continue their people to their obedience. Now as Kings are the images of God, ſo the chief Miniſters of State are the images of their Princes; we muſt not think then that the honour beſtowed on them, is a derogation or diminution of their ſoveraignty. No rather the more highly the chief Counſellor is dignified, the more that Prince himſelf is honoured. For as Antiquity reverenceth the *Oracles*, and thoſe who were injurious to them, affronted the Gods; ſo the ſame veneration & reſpect ought the Subjects attribute to him, who is ſo highly truſted as well for their own as their Pr. his ſervice. Theſe mutual reſpects are the nervs of the ſtate wherewith

the Prince moveth the whole body of the Kingdom with greater facility. And as the General of an Army diſperſeth his Orders, & diſcovereth his deſign to a faithful Officer (ſelected from the reſt) for a more proſperous march and conduct to the Army: ſo doth a Prince intimate his directions (perhaps) but by a whiſper, to his Miniſter, whereby he moveth all the parts of the Kingdom in a courſe clean contrary to common and general expectations. Therefore ſuch an Officer is neceſſary, that the Prince may not only be eaſed and disburdened of ſo great a charge, and thereby be able to refreſh and ſolace himſelf, but likewiſe Policy teacheth him to prepare a ſhelter betwixt him and the outragious tempeſts of the peoples envy & reproaches, who act in that ſort, that if the Prince be indulgent to any one perſon, they become an eternal enemy to ſuch near approachs to Royalty, and the Miniſter of State receiving the beams of Authority from his Prince, ought to be like the Moon, thought leſs luminous yet ever ſplendent in one degree or other; & though by his motions he caſualy eclipſe the ſplendor of the Sun, as to the eye of the people, yet as towards his Prince he is ſtill to reflect with honour, & his orb is ſpeedily to move to a more luminous ſatisfaction of the world. And when it ſo happeneth that a King enjoyeth ſuch an extraordinary perſon, who knoweth as equally to obey his Prince, as to command his people; the loſs of 10 *battels* ought to be leſs conſiderable than of one ſo eminent and ſo incomparable a creature. This office of the *Conſtable* I have conſtituted as an aid & ſuccour to my ſelf; and that of the *Marſhals of France*, as Aſſiſtants to the *Conſtable*. And if Princes be ſo injudicious and reſolute, as in ſo great a Kingdom not to admit a Miniſter of State, but wreſtle alone with thoſe vaſt employments, they will find thoſe different affairs which follow the Soveraignty, as the ſhadow doth the Body, will infinitely oppreſs the Princes ſoul; who if he mind his own honour & the peoples repoſe, a defatigation & diſpiritedneſs will accompany that oppreſſion; and that will produce vexation and melancholly, which is provoked ordinarily into Choller; and that commonly prepares high acts of injuſtice; therefore to keep up the vigour of the Prince in an equal proportion, the prudence & fidelity of a chief *Miniſter of State* is incomparably neceſſary. Soveraign Princes are like the Captains & chief Commanders in the Gallies, where the ſervice of the Pilot is of the cheifeſt importance to guide the courſe; it is his office to foreſee the tempeſts, to diſcover the winds, to avoid the ſhelves & rocks; & they rarely or never govern the Helm, but when the Pilot is diſobedient, or a neceſſity forceth; they (at pleaſure) obſerve the Carte, though neither furl the ſails, handle the ropes, nor tug at an Oar: it is enough for the Captains to give their orders, to reſerve themſelves for their more noble functions, which are to fight & vanquiſh the enemies: yet in neceſſity the Captain ought to be capable to exerciſe any place in all the Veſſel; either of a skilful Pilot, or a private Sea-man. Thus as an exact Pilot, the chief *Miniſter of State* is to be prudent and active, either in the quiet and calms, or ſtorms & tempeſts, when they ariſe in the ſtate. If God would have Kings made ſo perfect & abſolute, as that they ſhould need no aſſiſtance or counſellor, then they had been more by their birth than men; they might have penetrated their Subjects hearts, and been incapable of being deceived: but ſeeing it hath pleaſed the divine power to make them equal in their infirmities to the meaneſt of their ſubjects, they have great reaſon to fortifie their diſabilities by addition of the moſt rational helps & aſſiſtances: now as ſome objects, ſo the affairs of Kingdoms

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may be better ſeen by a multiplied Light. I know well that Hiſtory (which paſſeth for the beſt & moſt impartial deſcriber of the Univerſe) teacheth Kings ſomething; but that more obſcurely and imperfectly in compariſon of effective experience. I may add alſo that Cuſtoms, Manners and Kingdoms change as well as times. The *Macedonians* are not now thoſe noble perſons, who fought under *Philip* and *Alexander* the Great; the *Romans* of our age are grown more ſoft & delicate, and are not ſuch who lived under *Romulus* and *Numa Pompilius*; the *French* themſelves, though hot and fiery, have left that hardſhip and fierceneſs which they had under the reign of *Pharamond* and *Meroije*, under *Clodion* and *Clovis*, their courage was then formidable to all nations. Princes born in the purple chamber of Royalty, uſually travel into other Countries by their Maps and Charts; and ſeldom march into other territories, but with puiſſant Armies, to enlarge their conqueſts and dominions. It is then moſt advantageous to a Prince to have a confidence in ſome eminent perſon who may ſatisfie his curioſity with truth, and can experimentally deſcribe by his travels, the Kingdoms and Countries of his Enemies, it being almoſt impoſſible to make his advantages without the advice of thoſe who have ſeen thoſe places with their own eyes. And whereas Princes by reaſon of their ſuperabundant affairs cannot be ſo contemplative, nor ſo much converſe with Books; & that prudence is much gained with travel & converſation with ſtrangers, a learned Counſellor of Eſtate may in his diſcourſe be uſed as a walking Library. Beſides, Splendor, Pomp, and Pleaſure, deprive a King of a great part of his life; ſo that it may be ſaid in ſome kind, 'tis neceſſary for a Prince to have ſome others to live for him, to adviſe him on all occaſions, and to inſtruct him in thoſe things wch his interrupted condition permits him not to underſtand. And who think you is ſo fit to report to his Prince thoſe bold truths and free expreſſions which it is neceſſary he ſhould underſtand, but he to whom he hath given commiſſion, and in whom he hath placed his confidence. There are many angry truths, which Kings ought to know, and yet are not to be related to them, but ſeaſonably, and by a skilful and learned faithful Counſellor; who having firſt digeſted the dangers, may direct his Maſter to avoid the extremities. For the ſame relations reported from an ignorant or an injudicious mouth may occaſion great diſtempers, and many evils; ſo that a faithful Miniſter compleatly qualified with all virtues, is the chiefeſt guard to the perſon of his Prince. When I look on the Court, I ſee it full of flatterers and Male-contents; ſome endeavouring to raiſe diſſentions, others labouring to corrupt with Sycophancy and adulation: therefore in conſideration of thoſe two different dangers and inconveniencies, addreſſes are rather to be applied firſt to the chief Miniſter, then to the Pr. who as he is a guard, ſo he is a buckler & ſpy to all intentions that may ſurprize the King; and theſe obligations indear his fidelity to his Maſter together with his own fortune, his life and honour. Now as touching my ſelf, theſe reaſons have been my directors; and I deſire my Succeſſors may practice that which I have given them in example. The Laws ſhall be my guide and rules, and the *Conſtable* and *Marſhals* of *France*, on whom I have conferred the military affairs, ſhall force and command them to an obſervation. It is by them whereby I ſhall ſupport my throne, whereunto I am aſcended; and it is by this diſcourſe which I have made, whereby I ſhall prevent my Succeſſors from an evil explication of my reſolutions; and that they may believe that my ſuppreſſion of the *Major* of the *Palace*,

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was to make them more absolute in the Regal Office, I wish my Successors may reign with full Authority; but I desire also that they debar not themselves from the prudence of a faithful Counsellor. I would not have them slaves to their chief Minister, and yet I advise them to submit to Experience and Reason; and having found sage, moderate, faithful, and virtuous Servants, that they love them, recompence, and protect them, and that they measure their friendship, favours, and bounty, with their virtue, excellency, and perfection of their services.

The Censure.

KINGS *are* Gods, *so saith the Scripture; but they are such Gods, of whom* Homer *and* Ovid *speaks, who are subject to anger, fear, hatred, love, and all humane Passions. As happy as Kingdoms, and Princes may be, they are content to observe the* Latin *Proverb, which teacheth them, That* two eyes see more than one, *and therefore commit not their affairs absolutely to the dictate of their own will. Matters of weight, regal and high affairs require counsel and assistance, which if Kings refuse and scorn, their condition grows desperate and dangerous.* All Wisdom cometh from above, *saith* Ecclesiasticus; *and 'tis for this reason why Kings ought not to be ashamed of their consultations, meeting with so many difficulties. The nobleness of birth renders Kings illustrious; and worthy of great esteem and most sublime admiration; and it is true, Where the King is there is the Court, though it be but in a Cottage. But seeing they are men as well as Kings, Monarchs were unreasonable if they refused Counsel and advice.* S. Paul *teacheth that* Princes are to be obeyed though evil and wicked, *yet he never taught, That Princes ought not to hearken to the wisdom of the aged, to those who have more experience than they.* It is their duty to do right to the meanest as well as to the mightiest *This is an instruction given to all the grand Masters of the earth. And how shall Princes obey the Commandments of heaven if they be ignorant of what is right, and will not hear their counsels who can advise them?* Plato *saith in the second Book of his Republick, That* it is a high injustice to appear righteous, and not really to be so. *He addeth farther,* He is equally injust who taketh counsel from none but himself; *as* Lewis *the Eleventh of* France, *who wedded himself resolutely to his own opinion.* Alexander *the Great, who was so noble in his resolutions, that in the* Olympian *Games he would contest and exercise with none but Kings, yet he refused not to consult with* Aristotle, *who was no King, but a sage Philosopher. The sublimity of his condition did not make him scorn or disdain the wisdom of his Counsel.* Solomon *saith,* In the multitude of Counsellors consisteth safety. *And that which he taught, he practised; first chusing able and faithful Counsellors, and then depending on their fidelity.* Wisdom establisheth a firm foundation (*saith the infallible Oracle*) *and to have such an assurance, faithful Counsellors are to be embraced. And though the danger may be great, when a Counsellor proves unable* or *unfaithful; yet it is greater prudence to adventure such a danger, than to walk headlong in a certain path of ruine and destruction. It is true, Princes unfortunately, sometimes meet with such false and perfidious Counsellors as* Sejanus; *but there are to be found likewise upright and judicious* Mordeca's, Agrippa's, Mæcenas's *and* Belisarius's, *that is, such incom-*

parable Worthies, who having no ſingle and private Intereſt, regard nothing above their Maſters Glory and his Kingdoms good. Such men as theſe are fit to ſit at the Council-Tables with Kings; of whom it may be candidly ſaid, as the Oracle *did of* Lycurgus *(though by the mouth of a Sorcerer) that* ſuch as he were beloved of the Gods, and were rather *(indeed)* Gods than Men: *and* as for Princes, their ruine is never more certain and near, than when they deſpiſe wholſom Counſel. *Therefore the wiſe man ſaid,* Rebuke the wiſe, and he will give thee thanks. *Now as the Prince is to hearken to his faithful Miniſter, ſo is he to premeditate and guard his lips, that they* utter no perverſe or indiſcreet thing *before the Prince; but by wiſdom to ſhew himſelf worthy to ſtand before Kings, and to approve his worth in ſo high a truſt; and ſo a skilful Pilot in ſo dangerous a Navigation and Voyage. It is requiſite his* Theory *be great, but that his* Practice *exceed that. He is to keep himſelf within the bounds of awful obedience to his Prince, to underſtand that the ſupream power of Kings is not limited, their* anger is as the roaring of a Lion, *and their* Soveraignty is as the heart of man, where every wound is mortal. *It is with Soveraignty as with the Ark of the Covenant, which none ought to preſume to touch, though it were to ſupport it. Having now ſeen the reaſons of* Hugh Capet *and his election of a Conſtable of* France, *let us travel more Northerly, and look on a famous* Hero, *that formidable Conquerour, whom we may ſtile as that Turkiſh Emperour* Gulderum, *that is, the Lightning from Heaven, who, when he had paſſed over the Baltick Sea, and ſet his feet in* Germany, *being in the head of his Army; he commonly expoſed himſelf to the dangers of a private Souldier, not conſidering his quality of being a King, but (when he had occaſion) to ſhew his Royal Grace and Mercy to his humbled and vanquiſhed enemies. And therefore his ſage and faithful Chancellor preſumed to take the liberty to reprehend his Majeſty. See here follow the Reaſons of this Lion-like couragious Prince, to authorize and juſtifie his Gallantry and hardſhip in what he uſually attempted.*

Guſtavus

Guſtavus Adolphus

TO HIS GREAT

CHANCELLOR OXERSTERN.

IF the Counſels which you have given me for a ſafe Guard to my ſelf, had not been as dangerous, as my enemies to my renown and honour; I could have ſo much valued your wiſdom and fidelity, as to have hearkened to your Policy and Advice; but my honour was more precious to me than the conſideration of my Eſtate and Life, and more nearly toucheth my heart. Wherefore I think it fit to ſatisfie your curioſity (in matters ſo highly important:) I preſume the valour of Kings is not a quality to be confined or lock'd up within the narrow bounds of any limits; much leſs within the preſcriptions which your Policy perſwadeth. It is abſolutely defended (as an infallible rule) that *Kings (if they intend a Victory or Conqueſt) are to appear in the front and head of the Battel.* You well know it is moſt difficult in all the courſe of Nature, to eſtabliſh one certain and infallible rule. The ſame circumſtances are not commonly uſed to the ſame events, but *diſtinct and different means often compaſs the ſame ends.* One Ship may come ſafely to the Harbour by the Tide, and another as proſperouſly (though againſt the Tide) by a good gale of wind. As all Kings are not alike, neither in their perſons, nor Kingdoms; ſo their intereſts leave them to the choice and exerciſes of ſeveral actions and undertakings. There are many circumſtances moſt materially conſiderable in them, as their Age, their humour, their inclination. And it is to be obſerved that the people are of one temper, and the Souldiers of another; thoſe love to loiter and ſhelter themſelves in Plenty and Peace; theſe delight to hear the ſound of Trumpet and Drums, and are more ambitious of honour than of riches. To theſe obſervations a particular regard muſt be uſed to the affairs of War, to the Nature of the Enemy, and to the Deſignes of Conqueſt and Victory. And according to the variety of thoſe objects in theſe ſeveral circumſtances; the life of man (in order to thoſe ends he aims at)

at) is to be more or less valued. To this purpose a King is to consider, whether it may not be as necessary (on some occasions) to appear (as well) a valiant and stout Souldier, as a great Commander and General. But not to stay you any longer from the more substantial Reasons, I hope you will yield rationally, that *Valour is a quality as essential to a King, as either Justice or Prudence*; and that (in some degrees) it is more advantageous and serviceable to the People, than to the Prince, who chiefly gains honour and renown; but as for other Conveniences, they are as equally communicable to the Subjects (who freely share in them) as to the Soveraign. It is true, Policy and Prudence may effect Victories with less danger, and without effusion of bloud; and those Conquests may be more glorious and commodious; yet I shall speak freely and without fear: Although Justice and Prudence are chief preservers of a State in peace, yet the Valour and Fortitude of the Prince is as equally considerable, and contributeth not the least share of advantage to the prosperity of a Kingdom. Nay more, Valour chiefly giveth the life, success and fortune; and with magnanimity and courage the noblest minds do ever keep company; 'tis this Virtue which maketh the greatest Spirits and Worthies most remarkable; she (above others) advanceth Kings and Princes. It is by her renown that Kingdoms and Empires are constituted and formed; and whereby Conquerors and Illustrious Heroes are reputed worthy to merit Crowns and Diadems: for if we examine the wayes and actions of these latter Ages, we shall find that men who never were disciplined in the Rules of Morality and Policy, out of an instinct and direction from Nature, judged none worthy to command, but those whom they conceived most daring and valiant. So true it is, that *valour* is a quality most essential to Royalty, and consequently those who are not endowed with this great virtue, are utterly unworthy and incapable of Crowns and Scepters. If Kings were only obliged to be their Subjects Lords and Masters, Prudence and Justice might be solely requisite to such relations of Government; but their royal office obligeth them farther to adventure for their defence, not only by their Commands, but in their persons. And it is through this noble quality that they gain the glorious titles of victorious *Conquerors*, and to be stiled the *Protectors* and *Liberators* of the People. It was in favour to this more eminent vertue, that the ancient *Romans*, (who were such equal dispensators of Glory) conferred honours, and gave triumphs to those, who by their illustrious Atchievements had merited such high renown. But you will tell me, all men confess *valour* to be a great ornament and princely requisite in a Soveraign: but it is rendred less useful, if not limited with *moderation*, and guided with discreet restraints. To answer, I shall not peremptorily make a contradiction; yet I shall boldly affirm, that all the virtues, when idle and less active, either cease to be virtues, or (at least) appear not so to be. What were Clemency if she never snatched a Sacrifice from the Altar of Justice? and what were Justice if she remitted all her victims to Clemency? There is then a kind of necessity which generally obligeth them to a consistency in action; and each particular is to act according to its Nature; and to manifest it self to the people, as that virtue which is most eminent in the Prince, and chiefly seated in his natural inclinations. Now *if the Prince discerneth that his Subjects do more honour him, his Souldiers grow daily more valiant, and his enemies more fear him*;

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it cannot but be neceſſary, that he make proofs of his Courage to encreaſe the Subjects Loyalty and the Souldiers Valour, that the Enemies may be poſſeſſed with more terrour and fear, and the Eſtate be eſtabliſhed in a greater ſecurity. Beſides, where nature hath imprinted this noble heat and ardour of ſpirit, it is proper to augment and enflame this natural ſpark, by an exerciſe and frequency of noble actions; and *he who paſſeth his dayes without peril, is too raſh or vain-glorious, if he brag much of his courage.* It is not enough for a Prince to hear the noiſe of the Cannons, and to ſee the ſmoke and flaſhes of fire from the Ramparts and Battalians; but valour leadeth a gallant ſpirit within the midſt of the flaming Clouds, and mingleth him boldly with the Enemies Troops; where he can look on death without fear, and ſeeks glory when he ſcorns the world; and ſo walking betwixt the living and the dead, gathers *Lawrels* & *Trophies* with his own hands, which he hath beſprinkled with the ſweat and bloud of his irreconcileable Enemies. If this noble boldneſs were not admitted to a Prince, his own Army might as well doubt as the Enemies themſelves of the Princes valour; and the Souldiers and Officers might juſtly challenge to themſelves the victory which crowneth Kings. This high quality is not only neceſſary for a Prince in the *Theory* and *Speculation*, but likewiſe in the *Practice*; ſome other virtues are commendable, but this not only ſo, but eſſential in a Prince. *Juſtice and Prudence may be inſpired by the advice of faithful Counſellors, but valour muſt lodge in the Princes heart*, which giveth life and motion (as the moſt noble part) to all the other Members. And how can a Prince who feeleth not in himſelf the height of vigour and courage manage his affairs in either Peace or Wars? Firſt if he live in the ſoftneſs of Plenty, and a peaceful Eſtate, how apt will ſuch a Prince be to be oppoſed and affronted by the injuſtice and inſolency of his own Subjects? how will his Neighbour-Princes and Eſtates domineer and encroach on his Royal Rights and Priviledges? and if he fall into the tempeſt and broils of a Civil War, or an invaſion from forreign Enemies; how will he be able to preſerve his own honour, or his Subjects Rights and Liberties? and what noble ſpirit will freely adventure his life in his ſervice, who dare not as freely hazard his own? or how can he be capable of Generous Counſel, who hath not courage nor valour to put it in execution? and how dare that perſon think himſelf worthy of the Title of a King, who hath not a heart to fight (if Fortune ſhould oblige him, in a ſingle Duel with his equal) for the honour and preſervation of his Crown? By this time (I think) I may impartially conclude, that *valour is the moſt Princely and moſt Royal Ornament*, and hath the precedency (on the Throne) above all other virtues, which without this could not render any perſon fit to wear a glorious Crown. In all great Battels ſhe alone hath made the Conquerors moſt illuſtrious and fortunate. You cannot then (Noble Chancellour) but acknowledge that as this virtue is neceſſary and glorious for the Prince; ſo it is of chiefeſt advantage for the Peoples good and univerſal happineſs. Now this foundation laid, let us ſee how this quality is to be uſed; and whether to be unactive and out of all employment; ſo propoſing to forget no circumſtance that may juſtifie our Courage in theſe actions, which I have or ſhall undertake in expoſing my life to the moſt eminent perils of War. It is moſt certain, that if it ought (at any time) to ſhine more eminently in a Prince, it ſhould be at the Com-

mencement of his Life, of his Reign, and of his Conqueſts: this is the chiefeſt inſtance, when a Prince makes the luſtre of his Crown to ſhine, and when he imprinteth the marks of honour in the hearts of his friends and enemies; his courage amazing the one, and animating the others: *Whoever hath a hand valiant enough to ſerve glorioufly with his Sword, need not fear or doubt but that he may ſway the Grandure of a Scepter*; and to this purpoſe (on all occaſions) a Noble Prince is obliged to give ſolemn teſtimonies of his Valour. As for all other virtues, they cannot appear ſo eminently in him: Juſtice and Clemency may flow from his inviſible orders; but valour is immediately tranſient from his perſon. Experience maketh grand Politicians and great Captains; but they can never gain the reputation of valour without their own perſonal appearance. This is a way to honour, to which an illiterate and private Souldier may be admitted to climb. And how ſhall a Prince render himſelf commendable to his Subjects, or formidable to his Enemies, who is not furniſhed with this glorious quality? Kingly affairs admit not alwaies leiſure to Books, nor ſolitary hours of ſtudy and contemplation. His office is ever to be active, and *Valour* is a native quality which increaſeth with exerciſe. This is a gift of Nature, and falls from the hand of Heaven, and is imbodied in the life of man; ſo conſequently, being a natural inclination, inſtructeth that Prince ſo qualifi'd, that he employ the virtue thereof for the good of his Eſtate, and the glory of his Renown. If Nature had intended otherwiſe, Prudence or Juſtice might have been a more early quality than Valour; but we ſee the contrary, and the youngeſt infants ſooner learn to ſhew their courage, than to expreſs the vigour of any other virtues. The order which is eſtabliſhed in all the Univerſe, is too juſt to be contradicted; and men can never do more judiciouſly than by following the rules of natural and primitive intentions. Agriculture (how fertile & fruitful ſoever it improves) expects not the flower before the bloſſom, nor the fruit before the flower. The skilful Gardener endeavours to haſten the maturity of his fruits, but not to change or diſorder their Nature. Thoſe who approach near the Thrones of Princes, ought not to preſume to infuſe the rules of Prudence into their Princes ears, before they have given him firm aſſurance of their Courage; *Crowns, though they are to be attended with Counſellors, yet not with Cowards*: and Princes make their beſt advantage, when (following the direction of Nature) their Valour is firſt diſcerned and moſt illuſtrious in them. The ſuſpition of not being couragious, may diſanimate the ſtouteſt Subjects, and encourage the baſeſt and loweſt enemies. And if valour alone effecteth ſuch noble enterprizes, what will not the prudently couragious be able to atchieve? In effect, that noble report which dilateth it ſelf at the commencement of a Princes Reign, is marvellous important to all the concernments of his life. As for renown, ſhe will take more pleaſure in proclaiming of his Valour, than of his Bounty; and flying round the world, will more divulge and blazon his honour, and the effects of his courage, than thoſe of his Prudence & Juſtice. Hiſtory will charge her ſelf voluntarily with the memory of his victories which he hath gained over his enemies, and make them to ſhadow his errours (if any) and the infirmities of his paſſion. The reſt of his virtues clad in a more ſilent robe, or lapt up in private Panegyricks will ſhine as they are ſhadowed from the pencils of private perſons. But as for all the circumſtances of his valour, they ſhall ſwell in volums of univerſal Hiſtory. His other qualities may be content-

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ed to be confined to the borders of his own dominions and countries: but his valour will constantly travel over all the universe. His friends and his enemies will both talk; these out of Love, those out of fear; both will speak his honour, & so immortalize the glory of a valiant Prince; so that no person shall be able to detract or derogate from his renown. In the conduct of war, much is (oft-times) attributed to the experience of the General, or to the result of councel; but no diminution can rob a valiant spirit of his honour. *Aristotle* added something to the glory of *Alexander*, by the infusion of sweetness and moderation, as *Plutarch* did in that kind, in that of *Trajan*, but neither the one nor the other inspired their valour and generosity. All the tracts which were ever written, cannot present the gifts of fortitude. Heaven & nature concur in the plantation of that quality in the hearts of men. The Battel of *D'Issus*, and that of *Arbella*, were so much *Alexanders*, and that of *Daces* so much *Trajans*, that the combats and the victories were their own entirely; where no person durst presume to claim a share or part in those honourable enterprizes. It was (without doubt) that the *Illustrious Macedonian* (on this sole occasion) would not admit that *Ephestion* should be nam'd with *Alexander* in that action; it being certain that valour is the only Mistress, of which all noble *Heroes* are tender and jealous. Now if it be advantageous to a Prince to be valiant being young, it is much more rational to be couragious when he is first a King. As for my self, if I had not rendred my reign more memorable by my first actions against the *Polanders* and the *Muscovites*, it might well have been that I should not have caused (at this present) the *Empire*, and all *Germany* to tremble; but on the contrary (perhaps) I might have seen all mine own territories invaded, or my self forced to a shameful exile, or confined to a base imprisonment. It is certain that the most important actions of a King (in all his life) are those when he first mounteth towards his throne; and then when he declares a war against a formidable & puissant enemy. And yet not to leave the interest of that noble Subject (of which we speak) when conjunctures grow dangerous, and innovations threaten a change of government, the prince is then to be most vigorous, and to fortifie his designs with his courage. In the suspition of great revolutions, terrour and fear are excellent means to keep the world close to their duty; and on the contrary, timidity, slow & dull consultations do but prepare and promote revolts, and encourage faction & sedition. For though *valour* do not alwaies act with her sword in her hand, yet she hath a constant influence & continued operation over all people. She enters into the counsels as well as *Prudence*, & though *Prudence* give advice, it is *valour* that receiveth and acteth the bold & hardy resolutions; & she is the chiefest cause that inclineth Princes to clemency. If *Jul. Cæs.* had not been truly valiant, he could not have pardoned his greatest enemies. As for *fear* it suffers not those to live whom true *valour* scorns; great & terrible murders had followed in the battel of *Pharsalia*; if that great Emperor had not scorn'd death, he would have caused slain the greatest number of the *Romans*. *Aug.* forbore his proscriptions and massacres on the *Triumvir.* only on this ground, being certain that his valour & courage did so transcend, that it could cause his inclinations to mercy. It was this that preserved *Cinna* from perishing, when his conspiracies had trained him to such perils, & *Livia* so much solicited against him for his ruine. All noble Heroes have done nothing worthy their memory, wherein their valour hath not bin most prevalent in their perswasions & resolutions. As for *cowards, they dare not resolv whether to punish or pardon*, but in a suspence, fearing

ing the complices or the conſpirators, they leſs incline to pardon; & cruelty being their natural inclination, their fears increaſe only, & they deſire to ruine all; provided that that deſolation might render ſecurity & repoſe to themſelves. This Paſſion doth worſe become Kings, whom if the Subjects once diſcern to be timerous, they ſpeedily grow inſolent, & probably cauſe their Scepter to fall out of their trembling hands. But on the contrary, a Prince ſhould rather endeavour not only to be terrible in the apprehenſion of his own Subjects, but he is to make his courage to appear formidable to all the earth, eſpecially then when he ſits upon a Throne: At that time this glorious quality imprinteth his reſpect with his Grandees and Nobles, and diſperſeth an awful ſubmiſſion in the hearts of his people; and thus his Courage commanding both the one and the other, Peace and publick tranquility proveth the reſult and conſequence. Will a Prince pardon a great and eminent perſon, let him do it frankly, without any regard to the ſuſpition of his Train or party, and look on him as an object of his mercy, not of his fear. And when he reſolves to puniſh a potent and eminent offender, let him effect it with equal courage, and let his valour ſurmount all oppoſition and repugnancy; let him as little fear death by the hand of an aſſaſſinate, as from the Army of an Enemy. *He hath true repoſe of ſpirit who preſerveth his reaſon entire, and neither lies down nor riſeth up in fear:* For Valour makes him vigilant & ſuſpitious, not baſe and timerous. In this condition, whether he hath Peace or War, his valour will make him worthy to be a King, and to be attended with honour. There is a time when young and tender age tolerates a Prince if he be not prudent & politick (that virtue is not gained but with riper years, and ſome experience) but it is a great imperfection, (if not a vice) for a Prince, even from his Cradle, not to manifeſt the ſeeds of valour. It muſt be then confeſſed clearly, that no occaſion muſt be omitted that may manifeſt the beauty of this incomparable virtue, which is ſo precious at all ſeaſons. And if a Prince may be permitted at any time to take off the edge, and ſo ſuſpend the ſplendor of his courage; it is principally then, when he hath atchieved his conqueſts; then, when he reapeth the full harveſt of his victories; but in his attempts he is to be as hardy & terrible as a Lion, that by a fortunate beginning he may make his paſſage eaſie & facile to his greateſt future enterprizes, and ſo to be rendred formidable & victorious: it is not only neceſſary to fight by commiſſion, but in perſon, as well to encourage their own Armies, as terrifie & amaze the Enemies. By ſuch a gallant deportment the reputation of a Prince will march far before the Prince himſelf, & proclaim farther the glory of ſuch a General, than the ſound of Drums or Trumpets His luſtre will be ſeen farther than his Enſigns and Banners; and ſo the very terrour of his great and noble Name will batter the walls, and open the gates of the ſtrongeſt forts and greateſt towns. As for thoſe quiet and ſleepy Princes, who have no other thoughts but for their own defence, & no other ambition but to guard their own dominions from the invaſion of their enemies, a leſſer proportion of this noble quality may ſerve ſuch thrifty perſons; yet this high virtue, if planted in breaſts of ſoveraign power, ought not to be confined to ſuch narrow bounds; for if there be no occaſion to enlarge their domination, there cannot be wanting ſome excellent & honourable motive to exerciſe their courage in relieving of ſome Noble Princes enduring an oppreſſion or uſurpation. But as for ſuch who after the example of *Alexander* the Great, mind heroick and noble enterprizes, they think it glorious to quit their own Countries, preferring danger

before a Bed of Down, and the glory of the Camp before the delicacies of the Court: they can ſeat Majeſty as high in ſtrange Countries as well as in their own; and create and elevate a Throne with a few clods and earthy turfs, and make that as terrible as covered all over with gold. Such noble and magnanimous ſpirits adventure to ſeek Death abroad, and reſolve either to gain glory and an Empire, or to ſcorn Danger and trample Death under foot. Such invincible minds as theſe, are more active and courageous, they ſhake off dull and drowſie humours, kiſs their Sword as their Miſtreſs, look on Fame as their Herauld and ſervant, and expect honour as their reward. Theſe Martial Heroes abandoning fear will adventure their own perſons (which are above and far more precious then all things elſe) to gain what they aim at, and thoſe who will be ſuperabundantly and tediouſly wiſe, are ſeldom more fortunate or more illuſtrious then what their birth or their Fathers valour hath made them. Beſides theſe Arguments, if I ſhall conſider the three ages of Man, his youth, his manhood, and his old age; the ſeaſon wherein I have chiefly exerciſed courage is moſt ſuitable and proper, which is equally diſtanced from the infirmities of the one, and the debilities of the other. When the ſtrength of body accompanied the vigour of the mind, at which conjuncture it were a thing more irrational, and a kind of an affront and abuſe to Nature, not to be then more ſprightful and active; and conſequently more ambitious of an immortal and a glorious name. If Experience be ſo perfect a guide in great and famous enterpriſes, ought I not then to do now as I have already, ſo often having ſo well ſucceeded? you know how that when I was but ſeventeen years of age; I was conſtrained (on the ſame day) to take my Scepter with one hand and my Sword in the other, and ſo forced to defend my Crown: how I was (at thoſe years) invaded by the *Danes*, *Polanders*, and *Muſcovites*; and while theſe Wars continued I found it moſt agreeable with my honour as well as with my affairs to be with the firſt in the field, and with the laſt at the retreat. I believe you cannot forget thoſe eminent effects which I accompliſhed in all theſe ſeveral Countries, and with what precipitation and honourable danger I have been (oft-times ſeen) to paſs the Frontiers of *Denmark*, to thoſe of *Muſcovie*, and from thoſe of *Muſcovie* to thoſe of *Polony*: and if I had on thoſe occaſions ſo much need, I have (at preſent) equal invitation to the greateſt activity of my perſonal valour. For as the deſign is more high and noble, ſo ought all circumſtances which aim at it. Beſides ſome permiſſion is due to my natural inclinations, that I may regulate my conduct according (to my previſion and foreſight) with better ſucceſſes. And if I ſhould continue with the main body of my Army I might (probably) not onely endanger and hazard my ſelf, but all. No, it is more proper that I go my ſelf and view the countenance and ſquadrons of my Enemies, if I intend to vanquiſh them. I ſhall thereby put more life and reſolution into my own Souldiers; and when they fight I ſhall the more ably diſcern how to take a more perfect advantage on the Enemies forces, or feebleneſs, with whom I am to combat. And as I have conſidered what is moſt neceſſary in Order to mine own intereſt, ſo I am to diſcern the inclinations of the People and Souldiers who follow me. All Climates produce not the ſame tempers, and my Souldiers being of a more Northerly birth and education, expect a more vigorous and active example for their conduct. Not but that they are valiant, ſtout, and hardy; yet withal, they like the adventures better, when

their Commanders are in the Vanguard, and the General in the Front of the Battel: and it were great ſhame and imprudence, not to be forward where one noble Example may ſo elevate their courage and reſolution. The coldneſs of the Climate hath ſome communication with their Nature, which being warmed and throughly enflamed by their Princes valour, the Souldiers ſcorn Death and Danger, and grow as ambitious of vanquiſhing the Enemies, as the Prince himſelf; and if their courage be not ſomewhat quickned and advanced by ſome eminent and notable action of their Prince, it may fall out that they may fail in their duty; and the Prince may (poſſibly) loſe his honour, with his life, and all that is dear unto him. To theſe reaſons I may farther adde, that Prince who finds himſelf not at the head of an Army, conſiſtent of an hundred thouſand men, but onely commands a leſſer number of Troops and Regiments, in caſe his Souldiers march ſlowly, and advance fearfully; ſuch a Prince ought to be able roundly to tell his timorous and daunted Souldiers, that his Royal Perſon is as conſiderable as the vaſt numbers of the Enemies forces; otherwiſe he had done more diſcreetly not to have commenced a War, but rather lived ſecurely in peace. And it is alſo as true when a Prince taketh a view of his Army, and examineth his Magazines of Ammunition, he ought at the ſame time to conſult with his own heart, and not ſo much depend on the numbers of his Souldiers, or the ſtrength and terrour of his Engines, as on his own courage and magnanimity. Moreover, if we conſider well who our Enemies are, we ſhall find they are the very ſame, who fought ſo ſtoutly, and cauſed ſo many *Roman* Legions to periſh and fall. Yes, they are the very ſame People with whoſe force and power Grand *Arminius* (that noble Captain) did ſo many things. Moſt, or all other Nations are clean changed from thoſe Martial and Warlike humours, wherewith they were ſo illuſtrious for their hoſtility. *Rome* is not now what it was in *Julius Cæſars* reign, but is grown more effeminate and delicate. Or if it ſtill continue glorious, it is more for the Arts and Sciences which flouriſh beſt in Peace, then for the exerciſe of War; and more honoureth (at preſent) the Rules of *Mercury*, then of *Mars*. The noble *Macedonians* are grown diſpirited and ſervile ſlaves; and the Empire of *Greece*, is not what it was under the reign of *Philip* and *Alexander the Great*, but they lead the lives of humble Vaſſals, contented with ſervitude and beſotted ignorance. But *Germany* is ſtill the ſame, the People as couragious and warlike as in the times of the *Romanes*; as able and reſolute for reſiſtance, and ſo ſucceſsful with their valour as never entirely ſubdued and conquered by that mighty Empire. That very place where *Varrus* loſt his life as well as the Battel, continues ſtill peopled with as many ſtout and brave mindes as it was, when it oppoſed all the *Roman Forces*. There is onely this difference, that our Arms and undertakings are more juſtifiable then theirs; and therefore if we intend to vanquiſh them we muſt take the ſame courſe which they uſed who conquered the World, committing our ſelves and fortunes voluntarily to Providence; and couragiouſly expoſing our ſelves (without all fear) with hopes to attain that glorious end, at which our valour aimeth. It is for the liberties of all *Germany*, that we have taken up our Arms; it is for the repoſe and ſafety of our Friends and Allies, it is for a juſt revenge upon our Enemies, and true glory and renown, that we deſire victory: and conſequently, ſuch great Atchievements

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must be attended with all diligent and noble Circumstances that may procure and facilitate our Conquests. To this purpose (if there be occasion) I must not refuse to be *General* of the Army, *Marshal* of the field, *Major General*, an ordinary *Captain*, *Engineer*, *Canoneer*, or a *private Souldier*, as well as a *King*; and thus according to the diversions of my affairs, I am to proceed and act as an experienc'd and forward Prince, who know my own business as well or better then any who fight or follow me. Those who conclude that a Prince is the life and soul of his Army, are surely of my judgement, and resolve where the undertakings are so great and illustrious, the way cannot but be dangerous, and therefore requires greater courage as well as policy. The soul (we know) *est tota in toto*, as the Philosopher saith, and so must the Prince be in every part of his Army, giving life and operation to every member; so causing the feet to march, the hands to fight, the ears to hearken, the eyes to watch, and all parts to perform their several duties: have you not observed with what order and courage my Souldiers have followed me, when I have marched in the head of my Army; specially then, when I lead them towards the very mouth of danger: And think you that if they lead me and I followed them, that they would have advanced with equal courage? No, no, I know that one stroke with my Sword strikes the Enemy as deep as a thousand of others of lower quality: And *What doth not shame, example, emulation, hope of honour, expectation of Reward, and recompence from the hands of a King.* What (I say) doth not such means effect and operate? This Intuition and care moveth effectually every particular person in the Army, and causeth each one to do his duty impartially; so that some may rudely interpret that temerity which proveth greatest prudence: but (perhaps) you may tell me; if the Enemy understand that I am daringly in the head of my Army, they will aim at none so much, as at my self; and therefore multiply their volleys against me: to that I answer, *It is no small degree of honour to be such an object of terrour, and such a noble mark, which scorneth the enemies forces, though never so numerous.* Besides, my Souldiers, who see my valour, cannot but be so ambitious of my preservation, as to guard me with the wishes of their hearts, as well as defend me with the stoutness of their hands; and whatever shall succeed, the presence of Majesty cannot but make them fight like Lions, when they see their Prince ingaged, and compassed about with equal danger; as for mine Enemies, such couragious On-sets would make them faint and fly, or gallantly force their Pikes and Swords to fall from their hands. Now as my presence will inspire courage into those of my Army, so it will dispoil and strip the Enemy of that noble quality, and so force them to submit to our invincible spirit and courage: where, if I should proceed less generously, I might probably rather give incouragement, then gain so many conquests of mine Enemy. I know *the way to honour is full of difficulties*, but it is true, as rich mines lie deep and dangerous; beautiful Lillies grow in the midst of Thornes; so is it with true Renown and Glory. I am not Ignorant, that death oft-times attends and arrests as familiarly the greatest Generals and Princes, as the meanest Souldiers; but such a death is most honourable, and the Eccho thereof resoundeth to all the Corners of the Earth. As for mine own resolution and honour, I had rather lose the battel, where I have the humour to fight my self, then to gain a battel where I have not fought with mine own hands. Cease then (noble Chancellor) to set any farther limits,

limits, and to confine my courage with any bounds, leave me to the vigour and activity of this noble virtue, which ſo much animateth all the faculties of my ſoul. Our Troops are feeble, our Enemies ſtrong, our deſigns great, the eyes of all the earth obſerve our Motion, and ſuperintend our Actions; it becomes not us then, to be ſlow or ſhort in any part of our duty, let us fight couragiouſly, let us fall upon our Enemies like a violent Torrent, with thunder and lightning; and not like a gentle River move ſlowly and timerouſly; our pretentions are not ordinary, therefore our actions muſt be generous: Let us march through all *Germany*, and manifeſt our courage through every part of it; and if it ſhall ſo arrive, that our valour be recompenſed with a direful ſad unfortunate concluſion, we doubt not, but that our death will be glorious, and our name immortal; and if we do not perfect our Conqueſts, the world cannot (in juſtice) but rank us in the number and order of the moſt illuſtrious Conquerours.

The

The Cenſure.

MUch veneration and honour is due to the memory of this great Prince; he is to be looked on as a moſt noble Hero, and invincible Worthy, as the marvel and wonder of his Age: yet it is true, that Soveraign Princes having ſuch eminent fortunes, and ſo many great affairs meerly attending their perſons, it doth moſt infinitely concern them, for the general good of their Subjects and Souldiers, to be careful and preſervative of themſelves. That famous, but ſad day, wherein the King was ſlain, hath verified (but too cruelly) this truth, when this Prince loſt his life, by the violence and ardour of his own opinion, when his valour marched ſo forwardly in the Van. Though fortune hath oft-times preſented him with ſucceſſes and victories, yet ſhe is not alwaies conſtant in her friendſhip. It is to be feared he was too much aſſured of the continuation of her favours, and it may be depended too little on Prudence, and too much on the Roman Proverb, which ſaid, that Deſtiny doth all; or on Predeſtination, which (as ſome ſay) orders and determines both means and ends, which is the Doctrine of the Calviniſts and the Turks. Though it is rather true, that every one is the Artiſt of his own Fortune. Philoſophy tells us as well as Poetry, that ſapiens dominabitur aſtris; a wiſe man is able to reſiſt the influence of the Stars; which though they incline, yet do not force nor conſtrain the diſpoſition. This King, though a moſt illuſtrious Prince for his Valour, condeſcended very low, and appeared too exceſſively courageous in the office of a common Trooper: the head and the hand have two different functions; Fortune is not alwaies propitious, nor doth ſhe make every Conqueror her darling, as ſhe did Alexander: That which ſhe did for him in the Town of Oxidragues, and on many re-encounters, are not examples to others to adventure on Alexanders dangers, or to hope for his ſucceſſes; for her favours to him may rather be accounted Prodigies and Wonders, than common degrees of Fortunes courteſies. Homer who was ſo judicious in his Epithites, and knew how properly to place them throughout his Iliads, commonly gives that of Sage or prudent to Agamemnon; but that of brave or valiant to Achilles: to note the difference, which in the conduct of Armies, ought to be betwixt a Royal Prince and a private perſon. It is true, that a Bed of honour is as glorious and acceptable to a Noble Prince, as a Throne of Ivory or Gold, and to die Triumphantly and win the Battel, is to live eternally in the memory of men. As for this Prince, if he did not (before he died) confine his valour to greater moderation, it was rather to be imputed his misfortune, than his errour; for having enjoyed ſo many glorious fruits of his dangers, his victories and his triumphs, why might he not ſtill have preſumed on the ſame ſucceſs? All the world did favour him with Apologies; nay, gave him the teſtimony of honour and commendations, when he ſo ſtoutly aſſaulted the Iſle of Rugen; and at that great attempt gave ſo grand a reputation to his Armies, that he ſeemed to have effected impoſſibilities. Now if that courſe which was ſo fortunate in ſo many re-encounters, was not ſo ſucceſsful at the fatal battel of Lutzen; let the whole Earth confeſs it was not great Guſtavus's want of Conduct, but of Fortune: he had already conquered above Ten Provinces, and ſubdued Three hundred Towns; why might not this day have given him leave to ſurvive his Enemies, and to have enjoyed the Triumphs of his Victo-

ries? but in some kind it may be said of Wars, as 'tis of Playes; Old Gamesters think it not fit to hazard, and adventure all they have gained at one stake. But seeing things past cannot be revoked; let us not farther trouble this immortal Hero, *nor interrupt the repose of his Glorious Sepulchre. The great worth of this unparallell'd Prince is out of the reach of Envy, and (probably) of imitation. His Name is too bright and glorious to be spotted with derogation; and 'tis fit for none to approach near his Ashes, but such who bedew their eyes with tears, and force an amazedness on their souls with sighs, for the loss of so great a Champion, whose Trophies are so illustrious and magnificent, that whoever considers his great Atchievements, may not only have an abundance of satisfaction for his curiosity, but be astonish'd with admiration.*

FINIS.